OCTOBER, 1937

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An Editorial

THE MOVIES AND RACE RELATIONS

EDGAR DALE

WORLD WAR FOR COLONIES

GEORGE PADMORE

RETURN OF A DIXIE PRODIGAL

OCTAVIA B. WYNBUSH

TREATISE ON MULATTOES

A BOOK REVIEW BY GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

THE CHURCH SURVEYS WORLD PROBLEMS

BENJAMIN E. MAYS

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF

A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Editor

ADVISORY BOARD

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Volume 44, No. 10 *Whole No. 322*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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The 8,000 pullman porters and maids, one of whom is shown above, won a signal victory in their twelve-year fight for union recognition and better hours and wages when they signed an agreement recently with the Pullman company. The agreement was between the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the company and by its terms nearly $2,000,000 more in wages each year will go into the pay envelopes of the men and women who man the sleeping cars. In addition, their hours are shortened, they will receive pay for overtime, and many other concessions.

NEXT MONTH

There will be an article on a CCC camp in Tennessee by D. Minor Coke.

•

There will be, also, a story on the forced labor camps in Florida, written by a white native of Florida who knows whereof he speaks.

•

In an early issue, also, will be a review of the education campaign of the N.A.A.C.P. and an outline of the future program.

•

The December issue will be given over to children and young people. Pictures and information about small children must be in THE CRISIS office by November 1.

•

Benjamin E. Mays will have the second of his articles on the World Religious Conference at Oxford in the November issue.

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The Movies and Race Relations*

By Edgar Dale

The motion picture is perhaps the greatest instrument of mass entertainment and education in the world today. Seventy million Americans go to "the movies" every week. What do they see? What kind of "education" is being handed them under the sugarcoating of entertainment? How has the motion picture treated the Negro? This paper, read by Dr. Dale before the Williamstown Institute of Human Relations August 29, deals with a subject of absorbing interest to every Negro American

A SIXTH-GRADE teacher in New York City tells the following story: Her class, many of whom were the children of foreign-born parents, was studying a unit on immigration. The aim of the unit was to develop a more sympathetic understanding of the backgrounds and problems of people in foreign countries. The teacher told the pupils to find out if their parents were immigrants to America and, if so, to get some further information on this topic from them. Everything went satisfactorily until one little girl made her report as follows: My father says that he was not an immigrant. He came over first-class.

Our discussions at this conference are concerned, in part, with the influences that lay back of that child's remark. What forces played upon that girl's father so that he did not want to identify himself as an immigrant? In what soil, to put the question more generally, do the weeds of religious, racial and nationalistic prejudice grow? What waters these weeds? What forces will uproot them or crowd them out? Why do we behave like inhuman beings? I am sure that neither the members of this conference nor I are going to try to present any easy answers to questions such as these. At best, we can but make a start toward an understanding of the problems involved and possible solutions.

To point out at the outset that our thinking in regard to most problems is in terms of stereotypes—ideas fixed in permanent form—is to say nothing new. The characteristic thing about popular generalizations is that they are too frequently founded upon incomplete data. They represent unscientific thinking based upon too small a sampling. Most of us generalize far more broadly than our data warrant. This is particularly true of our thinking where races and nationalities are concerned. I have indicated that one of the reasons for racial stereotypes is lack of data. Many children grow up under circumstances where they are cut off from first-hand contact with other races and nationalities. They meet few or no French children, German children, English children. Direct personal contact with Chinese or Japanese children is almost non-existent except on the West coast. Many children grow up without seeing a single Negro. In the state of Minnesota, for example, there are fewer than 10,000 Negroes. Under such circumstances, the mental portrait which we have of these individuals is built up almost entirely through the second-hand or indirect contact through reading, radio and the movies.

Vocational stereotypes are also set up based on lack of data—stereotypes that are very significant as far as human relations are concerned. One notes this, for example, among young people in their ideas of the work of the newspaper man or the college professor. When I asked high-school students who had previously read a textbook of mine what they had visualized the author as like, a frequent answer was: "A little dried-up old man with a beard." More disconcerting, however, was the belief of one girl that "all textbook writers were dead."

Frank Nugent, motion picture critic of the New York *Times*, complains as follows concerning the vocational stereotype set up in regard to newspapermen. He says: "There has been a growing conviction that the screen, of late, has embarked upon a deliberate campaign to vilify newspapers . . . Checking over the pictures released in recent months, seventeen have painted reporters and newspapers as villains, five have treated the craft innocuously and two have made their journalists intelligent and gracious people. But the great majority have shown reporters, editors and publishers as crooked, unethical, heartless, boorish, drunken and corrupt fellows, ill-mannered and ill-tempered, with an exaggerated idea of their importance and their calling."

Stereotypes Have Wide Appeal

A second reason for the stereotypes in our thinking is the wide appeal mentioned by I. A. Richards in "Studies in the Science of Society, New Haven": Yale University Press, 1937. Racial stereotypes always contrive to give emotional satisfaction to their possessors. Harold E. Adams in his informed article on "Minority Caricatures on the American Stage," states his belief that minority caricatures are the result of the ethnocentrism of the majority. Ethnocentrism, as defined by W. G. Sumner in *Folkways*, is the tendency of an "in-group" to distinguish between itself and an "out-group" to the disadvantage of the latter. Adams further believes that "the influence of the stage is not in generating ethnocentrism, but in giving it more specific content." "Without much doubt," he says, "the most important relationship between stage caricatures and current opinion is that the former confirms and spreads popular beliefs." This view, he continues, conforms with that expressed by Young in *American Minority Peoples* concerning the influence of popular attitudes on theatrical and other arts. "His (Young's) description of the relationship as that of a vicious circle is apt: popular myths exist and are accepted uncritically by artists; these myths enter into their artistic creations, and are strengthened and perpetuated by artistic repetition."

The analysis of stage caricatures applies with equal forces to the motion picture and the radio. The motion picture and radio audiences are, indeed, even less critical than the patrons of the legitimate theatre and so less likely to challenge popular caricatures of minority groups. This uncritical attitude has become the working ground of the propagandist in many countries today. With the motion picture and the radio at his command, the propagandist can, through the use of selected narrative and drama, convert the mist of popular prejudice constantly hovering about into a storm of blind antagonism. We see this perfectly illustrated in Hitler's Nordictatorship.

But is not such a situation exceptional? In normal times, in democratic countries, are the motion picture and the radio guilty of spreading racial and nationalistic prejudice? Or are they, as we should prefer to think, merely serving as sources of harmless entertainment and recreation? My purpose today is not to throw stones at the motion picture industry or at the art of the motion

* The title of the paper as read was: The Motion Picture and Inter-Group Relations.

picture. In spite of its imperfections, and I shall discuss some of them, the motion picture balance sheet is clearly in the black. And when I discuss some of the red ink on that ledger it is in no spirit of blanket condemnation. The motion picture is one mass art which pays its own way. It doesn't rely upon foundations or subsidies to keep it going. It is not an esoteric art housed in a museum, but it is a people's art bringing joy and happines to some seventy million people in the United States every week. And it is precisely because the motion picture is a mass art, it is because the motion picture is a powerful conditioner of information and attitudes that we are discussing it here today. The motion picture not only entertains. It also educates.

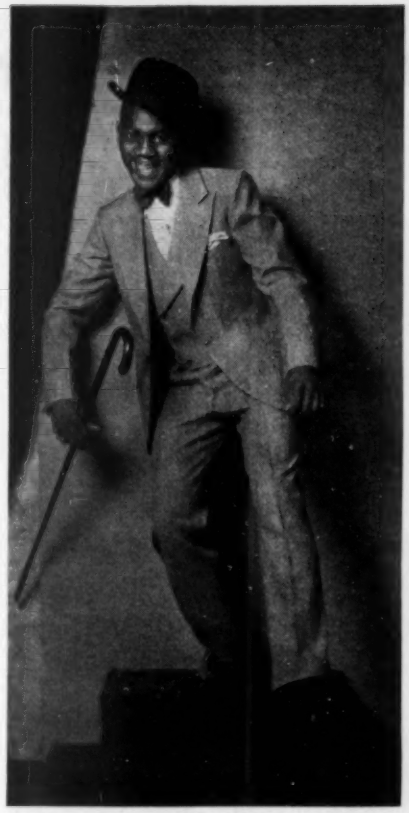
Race Discrimination Taught

What are some of the criticisms of the motion picture in relation to the problem of racial or nationalistic prejudice? In his book *Race Attitudes in Children,* Bruno Lasker calls attention to the following statements made by those participating in his study in this field.

> "Movies show foreigners and Negroes as comic characters or to their disadvantage" writes a settlement worker.
>
> The New Jersey group of parents, repeatedly quoted in this book report: "The group considered that in regard to strength and permanency of influence the strongest factor today is to be found in the motion picture where much race discrimination is subtly taught."
>
> A middle-western teacher writes: "Movies will use villains who are Mexicans or Italians, or just look foreign. But I feel there is less of this now than there was formerly."
>
> A correspondent gives a concrete example of internal prejudice induced by a film. It occurred in Raleigh, N. C., last month. The film is called "Foreign Devils," and the story is based on the Boxer uprising in China in 1900. It was shown on Saturday night. Next day a teacher in a Sunday school was explaining to a class that children of all countries are children of a common father. One child responded. "I saw a movie last night, and the Chinese are terrible people."

We get some notion as to the possible amount of correct and incorrect information in motion pictures through an analysis which I made in 1931-32 of the content of theatrical motion pictures. For example, out of 115 feature pictures sampled during these years, almost 21 per cent of the settings were located entirely in foreign countries, 14 per cent in a combination of the U. S. and foreign countries, and 55 per cent laid entirely in the U. S. Or putting it in another way, about one-third of these pictures were laid, partly or entirely in foreign countries.

The newsreel, too, carried a good deal of material dealing with foreign countries. Eighty-eight per cent of 118 different newsreels issued by Fox during these years had foreign materials in them. Ninety-three per cent of 87 different newsreels issued by Universal in the same years included foreign materials. Furthermore, 20 per cent of the total items in the Fox newsreels were foreign, and 22 per cent of Universal's were foreign.



BILL ROBINSON
A great dancer, but a "type"

The opportunities for inaccurate and accurate portrayals in the newsreels and the feature pictures, then, are numerous. How are these opportunities used? In a sampling of forty feature pictures, persons of 102 races or nationalities were shown. Their frequency in rank order, from highest to lowest, was as follows: French 20, English 14, Russian 12, American Negro 6, Swedish 6, Jewish 5, German 5, Moroccan 5, American Indian 4, Austrian 4, Italian 3, Irish 3, Spanish 2, Mexican 2, Sumatran 2, Japanese 2, Chinese 1, Scotch 1, Hungarian 1, Portuguese 1, Turkish 1, Cuban 1, and Hawaiian 1.

Forty-nine per cent of these 102 characters were shown as humorous, 34 per cent as attractive but not humorous, and 17 per cent as unattractive.

In an attempt to check up more carefully on certain types of pictures not previously investigated, I recently made an analysis of the depiction of races and disadvantaged groups in 21 Western pictures and serials. Out of 21 Western pictures and serials, we discovered a total of 27 characters of the sort mentioned. The number of films in which each of the various nationalities or races was shown is as follows: Negro 4, Mexican 3, North American Indian 3, Italian 2, Englishman 2, Chinese 2, Japanese 1, Spanish 1, Irish 1, Russian 1, South Sea Islander 1 and 6 of no ascertainable nationality. As might be expected in this type of picture, bands of Indians, Mexicans, African Negroes, Russian Cossacks, and a group of South Sea Isalnders were shown.

Of the five women in this group of 27 characters, all were presented attractively. Only two men out of 20—a Mexican and a Russian—were presented unattractively. Of the 22 male characters, 8 were shown as humorous. Three of the eight were Negroes, two were Chinese laundrymen, and the other three were an Italian, a Japanese, and an Irishman. We conclude, therefore, that this group of Westerns and serials did not present foreign races unattractively, nevertheless they do fall into the typical stereotypes in regard to Negroes, and also in these examples, in regard to Chinese.

Negro Is Movie Clown

This depiction of the Negro as humorous has become traditional on stage and screen and apparently also in the movies. Adams, previously quoted, points out that "white people conceive of all Negroes as being comical; hence a black face on the stage always represents comedy." He says further: "The standard minstrel portrait of the plantation Negro emphasized traits suggested by the adjectives lazy, shiftless, improvident, superstitious, stupid, ignorant, and slow, and those reflected in a fondness for watermelons, chickens, gin, crap games, razors, and big words. This stereotyped picture conforms closely to the concept of the 'average' Negro which exists in the heads of many white people today."

Archer Winsten motion picture critic of the New York *Post,* shows in an article appearing in the issue of April 7, 1937, that the Negro has not fared well in the movie. He says:

> Beginning with *The Birth of a Nation's* burnt-cork and leering rapist, Walter Long, and extending to the current *March of Time,* which shows a Harlem leaping in frenzied voodoo rites, American moving pictures have been strikingly single-minded in their choice of Negro types and Negro subjects. With the coming of censorship and motion-picture producers' codes of

(*Continued on next page*)

ethics in comparatively recent years, there have been no more scenes of attempted rape. The producers' sense of gentility and how much the censor can bear has benefited the Negro. He has risen from brutehood to the high estates of clown, dullard and menial. . . .

If anyone fails to remember easily the movie parts reserved for Negroes, a few examples will suffice. Type actors like Louise Beavers, Stepin Fetchit, Clarence Muse and Hattie McDonald repeat the same role endlessly—devoted, doglike servant, lazy good-for-nothing, meek and happy. In the current *Breezing Home* a lackadaisical stable-boy is assigned to straw bedding with the other animals, though his accommodation is naturally not as important as that of the horse. He also does a bit indicative of a chicken-stealing past. In *Pennies From Heaven,* Fletcher Henderson touches chicken stealing. In *Rainbow on the River,* Louise Beavers indicated she never wanted to be free. In *Spanky McFarland* the colored boy wanted to act as the white boy's slave.

The Movietone News once found itself with a newsreel sequence showing two Negro teams playing. This was judged worthy of Lew Lehr's dialectic treatment which is ordinarily reserved for animals and freaks—heaven help them.

The *March of Time* has twice found Negro activities sufficiently interesting. First it was Father Divine, and then it was the current voodoo. For the voodoo rites they hired Negro actors to make psychopathic faces. They quoted a statement that one-third of Harlem's 300,000 citizens were addicted to voodoo, which it a fantastic exaggeration not worthy of being investigated even if that were feasible.

Among the hundreds of times Negroes have appeared in moving pictures, to my knowledge there has been but one instance of deviation from the cast-iron mold of typing. That was the Negro doctor in *Arrowsmith.* But it is significant that he was a Haitian, not American. In limiting the exception to one, I am not overlooking a picture like *The Green Pastures.*

. . . Hollywood's defense may be that it is only repeating in its pictures the stereotyped thought of a great number of Americans concerning Negroes. To do otherwise would presumably raise hell in Southern box offices. Thus, through profitwise cowardice, the stereotype is being broadcast throughout the most powerful educational agency in America.

The last sentence quoted is of particular significance. Much of the importance of this problem, as it relates to the motion picture, is the effectiveness of the motion picture as an educational agency. The aim may be entertainment. The effect is educational or mal-educational as the case may be. But one asks, "Can one motion picture dealing with a certain area of human relations, or several pictures dealing with this same area, change or strengthen attitudes?" We do not have to depend upon opinion for our data in this field. Dr. Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, of the University of Chicago who studied this question report their findings as follows:

The general plan of the experiments was to measure the attitudes of a group of children by means of an attitude scale or a paired comparison schedule, to show the children a motion picture which had been judged as having effective value on the issue in question, and then measure the attitudes of the children again after the picture had been shown . . .

The issues which were studied include attitude toward nationality and race, crime, the punishment of criminals, capital punishment, and prohibition. The most striking change in attitude found in our experiments was the change in attitude toward the Negro as a result of seeing the picture *The Birth of a Nation.* The film *Son of the Gods* showed a definite change in attitude favorable to the Chinese and *Four Sons* made the children more favorable to the Germans.

The Criminal Code made a group more lenient in their attitude toward punishment of criminals. The pictures *Big House* and *Numbered Men* in combination had a similar effect.

A group of high school children were less favorable toward war after seeing *All Quiet on the Western Front.* One group who saw *Journey's End* showed no change in the direction of pacifism. A group of high school children were more severe in their judgment of gambling after seeing the picture *Street of Chance.*

In conclusion we may say that the experiments we conducted show that motion pictures have definite, lasting effects on the social attitudes of children and that a number of pictures pertaining to the same issue may have a cumulative effect on attitude.[1]

The "Birth of a Nation"

I want to call attention especially to the data on *The Birth of a Nation.* You will remember that this film was produced in 1915 by David Wark Griffith, the son of a Confederate brigadier general. When this film was shown through the country it was attacked widely by such persons as Jane Addams, Rabbi Wise, and others. It is quite likely that almost half of the adult population of the U. S. saw this picture. What effect did it have upon inter-group relations? Some people have said, and I realize the difficulty of proving the point, that the motion picture, *The Birth of a Nation* was one of the causes of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. At any rate, if any individual or group wanted to stir up racial hatred, could it be done any more effectively than through such a motion picture? I think not.

You must remember, too, that The Birth of a Nation film used by Drs. Peterson and Thurstone was the old silent picture, with a new sound accompaniment. The investigators thought that because of the outmoded silent technique it would not prove very effective with youngsters who were accustomed to seeing sound movies. What would be the effect of such a motion picture if it were brought up to date, not only in the sound track, but also in the body of the play? What would be the effect upon attitudes if certain of the anti-Negro material in *Gone With the Wind* should be played up?

The effective power of the motion picture, furthermore, is not confined to attitudes. It vitally affects information as well. Note, for example, the following conclusion by Drs. Stoddard and Holaday after giving the problem extensive study: "The content of a picture is accepted as authentic by a large percentage of the audience unless the errors contained are glaring."[2]

After this exposition of the problem, we come to the question, what can be done about it? What practical steps can we take to control, in some measure the depiction of other races and nationalities on the screen so as to further, rather than retard, harmonious relations with other peoples?

First, we must make motion pictures unprofitable which show these stereotypes, and make those movies which are honest and accurate in their portrayal of race and nationality relationships successful at the box office. This means, frankly, the organization of the movie consumer.

That this type of pressure is already at work is apparent in the work of the Anti-Defamation League in regard to Jewish prejudice in the motion pictures. During the cycle of gangster pictures, Generoso Pope, an Italian publisher, protested the constant portrayal of Italians in gangster roles. The National Council for the Prevention of War has organized a motion-picture division and has led nationwide protests on what are considered to be pro-war movies. The Council has similarly stimulated attendance at motion pictures which are friendly to the establishment of peaceful relations between nations. A newly organized consumer group, called Associated Film Audiences, has secured affiliations with such organizations as the Emergency Peace Campaign, American Youth Congress, the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—some twenty all together, and has established a bulletin—Film Survey—issued bimonthly.

Negro groups have not yet been able to establish consumer pressure due primarily to the fact that they have been quite effectively barred from attendance at many motion-picture houses throughout the United States. Further, there are only 232 houses in the United States which have been developed exclusively for Negro patronage. This figure represents only one and one-half per cent

(*Continued on page* 315)

[1] Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935).

[2] Getting Ideas from the Movies (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1933).

Said the Governor of Georgia to the Governor of Massachusetts—

AS a result of the activities of the Boston, Mass., branch of the N.A.A.C.P., through its president, Irwin T. Dorch, in the extradition case of James Cunningham, the governor of Georgia, E. D. Rivers, has had a lot to say (through the newspapers) to the governor of Massachusetts, Charles F. Hurley.

Gov. Rivers was so irked by the refusal of Gov. Hurley to return Cunningham to a Georgia chain gang from which he had escaped thirteen years ago that he not only issued sharp statements to the press, but promised to send paroled Georgia convicts to Massachusetts.

No sooner had President Dorch of the Boston branch persuaded Gov. Hurley to deny the Cunningham extradition on the ground that Cunningham would be returned to "cruel and unusual punishment" on the world-famous Georgia chain gangs than Gov. Rivers issued a statement about Massachusetts justice and cited the famous Sacco-Vanzetti case.

President Dorch, who is an attorney, handled the Cunningham extradition case without charge and revealed that Cunningham had been sentenced to 70 years on the chain gang following the discovery of $15 worth of stolen goods in his home in 1924. Cunningham told the court that he had purchased the goods, but he was convicted in short order and sentenced to spend the rest of his life on a chain gang.

Cunningham escaped after serving four months and made his way to Boston where he married, settled down, and became a good citizen. This summer Georgia sought to have him returned. The story of his case, which includes a vivid exposure of the chain gang system, was told by Cunningham in a special interview for the *Boston Traveler* and is reproduced here with the permission of that newspaper:

"In December, 1923, I was arrested when some goods found in my home near Atlanta, Ga., were identified as being stolen property. I told authorities the truth, that I had bought them from a boy named Slim Gertman for $15. The goods consisted of two dresses, a floor lamp and a rug.

"My mother and an uncle paid an attorney $150 to defend me, but he did nothing for me and when the case came up in court, he didn't speak a word. The entire trial lasted 15 minutes and then the jury went out for 15 more and came in with a verdict of guilty on charges of receiving stolen property. There were seven joint indictments with two counts on each, for which I received a total maximum sentence of 70 years.

"I was sick most of the time that I was in the chain gang. We didn't get any medical treatment at all and on several occasions I was put in the sweat box. This is a wooden box about the size of a telephone booth, which has a heater attached to the outside. After you are put in they start the heater and keep you in it over night. The temperature goes as high as 250 degrees.

"Then when they take you out, if you faint or fall down they stand you up and give you the 'Blind Mule' or make you ride the barrel.

"When they give you the 'Blind Mule' they tie a rope around your wrists then reeve it up through a pulley and hoist you off the floor until your toes just

(*Continued on next page*)

Photo courtesy *Boston Traveler*

Mr. and Mrs. James Cunningham

reach the ground. Quite frequently they let you hang there for five or six hours. 'Riding the barrel' is the name they have for another pet diversion of the guards. This consists of laying you across a barrel while the 'Whipping-Boss' lashes you with a long leather whip which has wire brads through the end of it. Then when your back has been cut to ribbons, they put turpentine on your wounds.

"You never hear about these things, because when you have visitors in the chain gangs, which is once a month, a guard sits right with you all the time, despite the fact that your chains are put on by a blacksmith and stay on until the day you get out, and prisoners know that they better not tell what happens in the camps.

Never Out of Work

"I escaped from the camp after serving about six months in a fever-infested swamp, and finally made my way to Cleveland where I met and married my wife. After coming to Boston I worked for five years as a bell captain in a Back Bay hotel, then five years more as a porter with a Boston publishing firm. I have never been out of work since I escaped.

"If Willis comes here and lives the life I've tried to live in Boston, I'm sure he will receive the same cordial treatment that I received and the chance to make good in life. I found that the people here dislike the criminal element as much as they do in Georgia or anywhere else, but they are willing to help you and give you a chance to reform, but there is no opportunity for any one to reform when placed on a chain gang. A chain gang does not mean reformation, it means death.

"There's no justice for a colored man in Georgia courts and heavy sentences for trivial offences are what he usually gets.

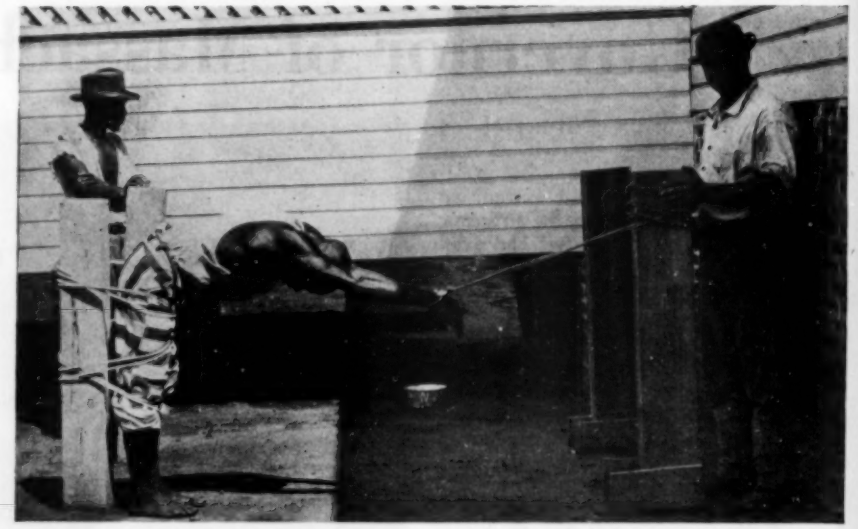
Do All Heavy Work

"The convicts build their roads, clean up their swamps and do practically all of their public works jobs. If Gov. Rivers would abolish his chain gang system, there wouldn't be so many people trying to break chain gang camps.

"If he were as humane a Governor as Gov. Hurley is, it wouldn't be so hard to get fugitives back to serve their sentences. I intend to do everything possible here to let Gov. Hurley know that he made no mistake in saving me from a living hell and not permitting them to take me back to a chain gang.

"I also want to give my appreciation to Attorney Irwin T. Dorch, who handled my case and who refused to take any money from me for what he did. He told me that what he did was only a friend's duty."

GEORGIA CHAIN GANG TORTURE



It was from torture such as this, the whipping rack, that Cunningham escaped and to which Gov. Hurley of Massachusetts refused to return him

Gov. Rivers of Georgia was not content to let the matter rest with the settlement of the Cunningham case. In August he announced that he was granting a parole to Fleming Willis, a colored chain gang prisoner, with the understanding that Willis was to spend the nine remaining months in the state of Massachusetts. Gov. Rivers also said that he was considering paroling a number of prisoners on the condition that they go to Massachusetts. The Boston branch of the N.A.A.C.P. immediately offered to assist Willis upon his arrival in the state.

In the Cunningham and Willis cases, President Dorch of the Boston branch is carrying on the long tradition of NA.A.C.P. branches in that city. Some of the most famous extradition cases in the history of the N.A.A.C.P. have been fought—many of them successfully—by the Boston Branch. Mr. Dorch has his office at 110 Tremont street where he has practiced law for fifteen years. He is a graduate of South Carolina State college at Orangeburg, and the Boston University law school. He is active in civic affairs, being a member of the council of the Robert Gould Shaw House and a director of the Harriet Tubman House. Under his leadership the Boston branch has gradually increased its membership to take its place once more among the leading branches of the N.A.A.C.P.

New "Y" Secretary

Miss Elizabeth S. Ryans, member of this year's graduating class of the Atlanta School of Social Work, began her work as secretary of the Y.W.C.A. in Dayton, Ohio, September 1.

Because of the excellent record Miss Ryans had made in group work at the Atlanta school she was awarded a scholarship by the National Y.W.C.A. to the Y.W.C.A. school at Oberlin college this past summer.

Before entering the Atlanta School of Social Work, Miss Ryans received her bachelor's degree at Fisk university. She is a native of Augusta, Georgia, and a member of the A.K.A. sorority.

The Church Surveys World Problems

By Benjamin E. Mays

Delegates from fifty-six nations gathered at Oxford University, England, in July to consider religion and world problems. Mr. Mays reports here on the conference in the first of two articles

THE Oxford Conference on the Church, Community and State, which convened at Oxford university, England, July 12-26, 1937 was a "response in the heart of the church to the growing concern about unity and common action in the realm of practical Christianity in a deeply confused and divided world"—a world where nations, seeking to restore their status, their self-respect, their economic resources and their justice have broken down friendly international relations that looked so hopeful to us in 1925; a world where antagonistic ideologies are fighting for the mastery; where God has been dethroned and man has been glorified; where states and men seek to make themselves the supreme objects of devotion; a world where the State organizes and controls the consciences of men; where the spiritual forces of the world are *subordinated* to and *dominated* by the forces of materialism; in a world where the "tragic paradox prevails that some twenty million people in an era of unemployment are being kept alive by the manufacture of the instruments of death in a mad race of armaments aiming at national security, but heading for national disaster and world anarchy." In a confused, divided world like this, representatives of the non-Roman Christian world, including Protestants and Anglicans, and the Greek Orthodox Church, with forty-five nations participating, assembled at historic Oxford to consider the church in its relationship to the community and the state.

The Oxford Conference was an outgrowth of the Stockholm Conference on Practical Christianity which was held in Stockholm in August of 1925. A continuation committee from the United States was entrusted with the task of following up the work begun at Stockholm. In 1928, an International Institute of Christian Social Action was established at Geneva under the direction of Professor Adolph Keller. At Eisenach, 1929, the continuation committee transformed itself into the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work. In September, 1930, the council adopted a constitution and increased the number of members to one hundred. It decided to meet every two years and an executive committee was appointed to deal with the problems that arose in the interim.

The executive committee was supplemented in 1932 by an administrative committee with the Bishop of Chichester as Chairman. From 1929 the Universal Christian Council, through its secretariat and commissions and its research department, prepared the program for the Oxford Conference.

Significance of the Meeting

Without in any way minimizing the effectiveness of the platform utterances, the outstanding work of the conference was done in the five commissions: Church and Community; Church and State; Church, Community and State in Relation to the Social Order; Church, Community and State in Relation to Education and the Universal Church and a World of Nations. Let us now consider the significance of the Oxford Conference.

Despite the differences in theology, social and national backgrounds, and the actual denial of Christian fellowship in many parts of the world, a feeling did permeate the conference that there is such a thing as *Universal Church,* a universal church that transcends all national, racial or class barriers and cuts across all theological presuppositions. The conference was held together by a spirituality that is far more significant than those differences which manifest themselves in theological, racial and national conflicts. At the very moment, for example, that the armies of China and Japan were fighting in the vicinity of Peiping one saw Francis Wei, president of Central China university and Timothy Ting-fang Lew, an eminent Chinese pastor, walking alongside Paul Susumu Nishida of Japan. Or, one heard in clear tones the words of T. Z. Koo, when he said "my first effort personally is to learn day by day how to *love* my enemy, and in North China my Japanese enemy is sitting on my doorstep waiting for me to love him."

Though unheard of in many sections of America, one saw a Negro from South Africa or southern United States worshipping in the same pew with a white man from Arkansas or taking communion alongside a white man from Georgia. And one saw Negro delegates associating, without bitterness, with a Scotchman from South Africa who spoke in strong and somewhat eloquent defense of segregation in the house of God in South Africa. No amount of theological differences nor conflicting social philosophies could destroy this feeling of the universal church. The fellowship and unity prevailed despite the fact that representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church were often disgusted at the loose handling of the word, church.

The reports continued to speak of the church repenting and to the Greek Orthodox the church cannot repent because it is the very body of Christ. Whether a Barthian, one who believes that man can do nothing to improve or change the social order; or a Brunner, who believes that it is not the function of the church to launch a social program; or a Christian Socialist, like Reinhold Niebuhr, who believes in coercion; or a thoroughgoing activist who thinks that the church has a right to strive to build the Kingdom of God here on the earth, one could not deny that a spirit of unity existed at Oxford and that whether Anglican, Protestant or Orthodox there was a real desire to have a unity that would enable the non-Roman Christian world to speak with authority concerning the grave problems of our time. This feeling of oneness that there is neither Jew nor Greek, Scythian nor barbarian, bond nor free, and the urgent desire to speak with a united front across the world is one of the most significant points of the Oxford Conference.

This point was simply but eloquently expressed by Doctor Samuel Macrae Cavert, secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. He showed that unity has to do with the very life-blood of the church. In part, he said: "If Christians are really animated by one spirit there must be some body through which the spirit can be manifested and made effective in the world. The Universal Community, the believers, must be enabled to worship and think and act as a community, not merely as a national segment. The church to-day lacks the ecumenical organization which would fit it to exercise its true international power."

Dr. Cavert saw in the making an

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The Return of a Modern Prodigal

By Octavia B. Wynbush

THE Illinois Central Flyer spun along the gleaming steel rails, farther and farther from the chill, blustery shores of Lake Michigan, deeper and deeper into the balmy warmth of the southland. Past Memphis, past rich fields of cotton, sugar cane and rice, deep, threatening swamp, and romantic vistas of old plantation mansions dating 'way before the days of the Civil War, rushed the train, while the wheels hummed and sang to the steel rails.

To Slim Sawyer, reared back in the Jim Crow smoker, his hat on the side of his head, a huge cigar in his mouth, and his feet planted comfortably on the cushion of the seat in front of him, the wheels spinning on the steel rails were singing, "Going home, Going home!"

There was a pleasurable exhilaration in listening to their steely song, an exhilaration mixed at the same time with a heaviness and an apprehension that was growing momentarily with the shortening of the miles between him and his destination. Slim was wondering. Would his folks know him after twenty-five years? He would know them, without a doubt.

His hand strayed to the side of his head uncovered by his hat, and felt the close-curled hair that covered it. He smiled as he had smiled a hundred times after performing the same act. A crop of hair felt good after a man had been forced to keep his head clean-shaven for nineteen years. Slim jerked himself out of his reverie and looked around with the air of one who fears he has whispered a secret too loudly. No one was paying him any attention. Evidently nobody had heard his thoughts.

Staring out the window at the fields, trees, mules and cabins that went spinning by, Slim saw back and beyond them all, the panorama of his own life unrolling. It had been boyish restlessness and dissatisfaction that had shaped his life into what it now was.

He saw himself as he must have looked at fifteen—like that youngster out there, leaning against the fence, watching the train rush by. He must have been like that—a tall, slim, youngster out of whose face blackened by the intimate acquaintance with the Louisiana sun, shone two eyes eager and alive with the dreams and longings of youth. Many a time when unobserved by his father, he had let the mules stand idle in the field at plowing time while

There was no fatted calf awaiting Slim Sawyer on the Louisiana farm of his parents

he leaned against the fence and stared down the road that wound away into the distance. It always fascinated him, that road, yellow with powdery dust in the dry season, churned into black, sticky mud in the wet.

There, somewhere at the end of that road was a railway station where trains came puffing in three times a day and once at night. And these trains carried people away from the never-ending toil of the plantation. Somewhere in the great unknown these trains stopped at New Orleans, Memphis, Chicago and God only knew where else in that heaven called the North.

One day in plowing time the lure of the road had proved too strong for his boyish imagination. As he came opposite the fence on this particular day, he had dropped the reins of the mules, bolted over the fence, and taken to the road. His action was entirely unpremeditated, and was simply the result of dreams, and the day which had beckoned him with teasing finger ever since he had risen at dawn.

Once in the road there was no turning back. Too many things lured him on. Every curve in the road, hidden by trees and clumps of bushes, hinted of something more alluring around the bend. That night he had slept in the station where he hid behind a pile of old boxes. At day-break he had started on his trek to New Orleans. Slim smiled as he pictured the dirty ragged black boy who had ventured from house to house begging food, and who had slept in field corners at night, and had stolen from those fields under the shadow of night what he needed to eat.

The man's smile was sadly reminiscent as his mind flew back over the many vicissitudes through which he had passed during the following years spent in New Orleans. in Memphis, in Chicago and Detroit. His mouth twisted wryly as he thought of Detroit. That city had been the scene of his undoing. A cloud of sadness and of shame descended upon him. Drink—a fight—fumes of poisonous whisky clearing away from his brain to reveal to him the still, dead form of a man they said he had killed—the trial—the cold pronouncement of the sentence by the judge—nineteen wasted years in the penitentiary, his time had been shortened to nineteen years because of his good behavior. He had spent the year following his release trying to lose the prison traces. His hand involuntarily went back to the hair on his head.

He wondered how the old folks would take his return. He did not wonder whether they were still alive. His first concern after leaving prison was to find that out by devious secret means. They were just as poor now as they were the day he had walked off. Certainly they were feebler. The years and the hard, back-breaking, spirit-grinding toil had taken care of that.

Slim smiled broadly. In an inside belt he was carrying enough money to put his parents on Easy Street the rest of their lives. Bootlegging had been the easiest and the most profitable business he had found open to him after his release. He had saved nearly every penny of his profits for the old folks.

The shadows cast by the coaches were gradually lengthening; the sky was growing less and less light. Evening was coming, quickly to be followed by the night. One more night in the uncomfortable coach, with his long body doubled "S" fashion on two seats in lieu of a berth, and he would be in New Orleans. From that point a local would carry him by slow, perspiring stages to the station in which he had slept the night he had run away.

The lights in the coach flared up. Night had fallen. Slim's preparations for retiring were simple. He removed his hat and placed it in the rack above him. Then he threw the remaining part of his cigar out of the window, removed his shoes and accommodating his long body to the two seats drew over him a lightweight overcoat to keep out the chill of the night.

IT was six o'clock the next morning when the train pulled into the station in New Orleans. As he stepped from his coach Slim saw the local on the next track, getting up steam to pull out. Quickly he was aboard and settled in a seat. This train did not move with the speed of the flyer he had just quitted. The wheels, however, sang, "Going home," but with a difference. It was like a funeral dirge now. "I feel more like a corpse than a livin' man," Slim

muttered, wiping his face with a large fancy silk handkerchief.

The day was exceedingly warm and as the local crept from station to station, stopping often for a longer period than it was in motion, the oppressive heat weighed on Slim to such an extent that it gave him an oppressed feeling. Somehow, the nearer he was borne to his home, the farther away he felt from all that home represented. His mother, a saintly well-meaning woman; his father, a practical, hard-headed man who worshipped his God and measured mankind by the Ten Commandments.

The utter simplicity of their faith, the purity of their lives, the shining whiteness of them served only to make his misspent years stand out boldly black and ugly. His hand surreptitiously patted the money belt. How would these dollars be received? He had concocted a tale that to his ears had seemed plausible enough when he boarded the train in Chicago. But now at the thought of looking into his mother's calm, trusting eyes and telling the carefully planned lie, a feeling of nausea swept over him. Under the keen, shrewd, soul-scrutinizing eyes of his father, the best planned tale would seem weak and futile.

The tortuous hours crawled on. Noon had enveloped and smothered the passengers with its heat, and the slight breeze that had sprung up drove clouds of smoke and showers of cinders into the windows of the Jim Crow car. Slim noted with increasing irritation that his cuffs, collars and shirt front were growing momentarily dingier. Every now and then he removed his hat and carefully flicked the soot and cinders from its surface. He sighed with relief when the conductor shouted the name of the station.

Gathering his luggage, Slim made his way to the platform and sprang to the ground as soon as the train stopped. He looked around him. The dingy unpainted shed of a station that had once sheltered him was gone. In its place arose a trim bright yellow building bearing on one side the legend, "Laurelville." There were two waiting rooms, also, one bearing the sign "White Waiting Room," the other, "Colored Waiting Room."

The next question was how to get to the plantation on which his father lived. Slim did not relish the long walk through the yellow dust. Surely there must be someone with a wagon and mule, who wouldn't mind earning a dollar by carrying him up that road.

He walked around the corner of the station, and there came upon a crowd of young men lolling and sprawling in all degrees of idleness and inertia. Looking at their dull, stagnant, yellow, brown and black faces. Slim reflected that here, but by the grace of chance, was Slim Sawyer. Singling out one of the group he walked up to him and spoke.

"Buddy, do you know where I can get a wagon to carry me out to Logan's plantation?"

The fellow questioned spat carefully into the dust beyond Slim, wiped his mouth on his ragged shirt cuff and answered, "Sho'. I'll take y' in my ole flivver. It's jes' aroun' the cornah behin' de station. Come, git in."

Slim followed his guide to the rear of the station, where stood the great, great grandfather of all flivvers. Battered, dented, with great gaping wounds in the top, and every shred of upholstery vanished from the interior, it looked entirely incapable of motion. Gingerly Slim deposited himself on the front seat through which a broken spring protruded. He made an effort to keep the spring between the owner and himself.

After much cranking, kicking, and coughing, the ancient chariot started off with the noise of a cannon shot. Its bounds and leaps at the starting made Slim think of a passage his father had once spelled out in the family Bible—something about horses pawing in the valley.

The light yellow dust rose in clouds from the dry road, sprinkling the vehicle and its occupants with a fine yellow film. It seeped between Slim's lips, making his mouth feel rough and gritty. He was thankful for the dust, though, for it kept his companion from asking the very personal questions that every native felt privileged to ask every newcomer.

The heat and the dust played havoc with Slim's freshly washed face and clean clothes. He cursed inwardly for not having kept on the clothes he had worn during his journey on the train. The handkerchief with which he swabbed his face came away streaked with dirt and perspiration. His silk shirt grew stickier and stickier. A longing to exchange his summer weight woolen suit for the airy tatters of his companion overcame him. The car engine seemed to add twenty degrees to the temperature of his feet.

AT last the car turned a bend in the hot unshaded road and entered a narrow lane lined on either side with magnolias, live-oaks and a sprinkling of pecan trees. Slim sighed with relief for their shade. He knew that in a few minutes his ride would be over. The thought brought a flood of conflicting feelings.

"Well, hyah you is," drawled the owner of the car, bringing it to a standstill in front of a gate in a barbed wire fence.

Slim climbed out and took the luggage which the man handed him from the car.

"How much do I owe you?" he asked.

"O, 'bout two bits, I reckon."

Reaching into his pocket, Slim drew out a dollar and handed it to the fellow, saying with a smile, "Keep the change for lagniappe."

Ignoring the voluble thanks that followed his generosity, Slim turned and opened the gate. He stood just within it until the car had hiccoughed out of sight. He suddenly felt bewildered, frightened and very small-boyish. Strangely enough his mind flew back to a day in his chilhood—a day when, often having disobeyed his father's injunction to stay out of the creek because the water wasn't warm enough yet, he had stood at that same gate, making up his mind to go to the house. He remembered wondering whether all signs of his disobedience were destroyed, and feeling then exactly as he felt now.

Slowly closing the gate behind him, he advanced up the path, merely a ribbon of trodden grass threading through a grove of trees similar to those lining the lane. A few moments of slow walking brought him to the end of the path and into an open grassy space. There, under the wide-flung branches of a live-oak whose Spanish moss dipped and touched the much-patched roof, stood the little cabin. It was black, now, with the wind and the sun and the rains. The same flower beds were flung out in front of it. The same little path led to the cabin steps. The railing around the porch supported wooden flower boxes similar to those Slim had seen there in his boyhood.

He halted again. Sudden panic overcame him. He wanted nothing so much as to run away. But any such intention was quickly put to an end by the appearance in the doorway of an old woman. The short, thin gray hair, the spectacles, the deep furrows on her brow and thin cheeks and the stoop that comes of old age and labor could not disguise her. It was his mother. His heart quaked into stillness. Would she know him. Did he want her to know him?

The old woman looked at him questioningly yet with a smile of unmistakable hospitality.

"Good evenin', sah," she said in a somewhat thin tremulous voice.

"Good evening, ma'am." Slim accompanied the words with a sweeping bow. His mind was made up as to the course he would pursue until she recognized him, or until he decided to drop his disguise.

At the beginning of his journey he had hoped for instant recognition. Now,

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A New World War for Colonies

By George Padmore

Mr. Padmore continues here a discussion begun in the September CRISIS under the title "Hitler, Mussolini and Africa." After examining the struggle for monopoly markets and their necessity to capitalist imperialist economy, the author concludes that only through a new world war will the colonial question be solved

IN our previous article we treated the population question in its relation to empire. Here we propose to take up the several other issues involved. We will turn first then to the problem of raw materials.

Which of these products constitutes the essential elements of a modern industrial state? They are coal, iron, copper, lead, chrome ore, bauxite (for producing aluminum), antimony, asbestos, gold, silver, platinum, graphite, manganese, nickel, mercury, mangasite, tin, zinc, tungsten, vanardium, molybdenum, petroleum, potash, phosphates, nitrates, sulphur, iron pyrites, cotton, jute, manila, manila hemp, wool, palm oil, rubber, sisal, soya, sesame, linseed, timber, ground nuts, tea, sugar, coffee, cocoa, copra, flax, colza. All of these are important, but the six of most importance are iron, coal, petroleum, rubber, cotton, copper. The nation which controls these is not only able to maintain its industrial system working at all times, but has a great military advantage over an opponent in time of war.

It was precisely because of the importance of raw materials that the capitalist classes of Europe began to parcel the backward regions of the world among themselves during the latter part of the last century and the first decade of the present. However, this struggle for territorial monopolies is not yet over. Rather it has become an even more intensified battle between those nations which possess raw materials—the "Haves"—and those who seek to possess—the "Have Nots." It is therefore necessary to see which powers control these products, and to what extent, if any, the non-controlling powers are denied access to raw materials.

Three Nations Self-Sufficient

Great Britain, the U.S.A., and U.S.S.R., are, relatively speaking, self-sufficient, while France, Germany, Italy and Japan are deficient in the control of essential raw materials.

America is the world's largest producer of cotton, petrol, coal, lead, zinc, phosphates, sulphur, molybdenum, cotton seed, and second in the production of silver, copper, iron, oxide, bauxite and wool, with big reserves of timber, mercury, magnesite, gold and tungsten.

Next is the British Empire, including the dominions and colonies. Within this far-flung empire are to be found 71% of the world's gold resources, 58% of rubber, 99% of jute, 86% of nickel, 59% of platinum, 42% of tin, 43% of lead, 71% of asbestos, 32% of zinc.

The Soviet Union is also rich in natural resources. She possesses tremendous amounts of manganese (28%), chrome ore (7% to 28%), asbestos (7% to 27%), magnasite (15%), flax and hemp, as well as great quantities of other products necessary to her rapidly expanding industrial system. She ranks among the world's greatest producers of petrol, a vital commodity which Germany, Italy and Japan lack.

These latter three powers, although not as favorably placed as those above, nevertheless, are not altogether lacking in raw materials. Germany is the largest producer of potash (59%), and has large reserves of coal (9%) and zinc (9%) and nitrates. But she has to import rubber, cotton, wool, copper, lead, manganese, tungsten, mercury and petrol.

Italy is the second largest producer of hemp, sulphur, mercury and olive oil, but is deficient in iron and coal, both of which she has to import. Japan, while being the largest world producer of silk and graphite (from Korea), is a large importer of rubber, petrol and cotton, none of which she has direct access to.

It is interesting to note where France comes in, for she controls the second largest colonial empire in the world. However, she obtains very little of the raw materials essential to her industrial life from within her empire. Although she has access to iron, potashes (from Tunis, Morocco, Algeria), nickel and chromium (from New Caledonia), graphite (from Madagascar), and vegetable oils (from West Africa), she is deficient in coal, rubber, lead and zinc, and possesses no petroleum or cotton, two of the most essential commodities in peace and war. Nevertheless, France is not a dissatisfied power. Unlike Germany and Italy, she does not demand more colonies. Nor does she complain about not being able to obtain raw materials.

Why? Because France is rich. She has always been a country with vast financial reserves. Thanks to this she is able to buy all she needs in the open market.

In this respect there is much in Sir Norman Angell's statement that "It is not true that the main economic needs of modern nations are territory for raw materials and markets . . . The problem is more one of glut than one of scarcity. No country in the world refuses to part with the raw materials and markets that it produces. All are ready to sell to anyone with money. Money must be forthcoming, whether the raw material is bought from conquered territory or from foreign countries."

Lack of Purchasing Power

This, however, is not the whole truth. The problems of the world are not so easily disposed of, for while it cannot be denied that Italy and Germany have the same right as England, France and the U.S.A. to buy whatever raw materials they need, it must also be recognized that they do not possess equal ability to buy. For the simple reason, that they do not enjoy the same advantages to sell their manufactured products in the colonial and semi-colonial territories and other areas under the political or financial domination of their more favored imperialist rivals. Because of the policy of economic nationalism pursued by all great imperialist nations, Italy and Germany find it very difficult to pay for the materials they need. Their problem is one of markets, for it is an elementary principle of economics that imports can only be paid for by exports, and to a more limited extent, by credits for services rendered to foreigners, or, as in the case of Italy, by remittances sent home by Italian immigrants in America. Herein lies the whole crux of the problem. Therefore, it is sheer humbug and hypocrisy for the "Haves" to say that there is no discrimination against the "Have Nots;" that the latter can obtain all the raw materials which they need while at the same time the

"Haves" keep the commodities of the "Have Nots" from their metropolitan and colonial markets.

It is this very "closed door" or monopoly policy which has accentuated currency difficulties in Germany and Italy, making it even more difficult for these countries to obtain valuta, that is to say, foreign currency with which to purchase their raw materials. Generally speaking, the difficulties of Germany and Italy, like most other States, arise out of the disorganized world capitalist economy, the result of the breakdown of the whole capitalist system.

These market and currency difficulties instead of proving the argument advanced by certain apologists for British imperialism that colonies are of no advantage to the possessing power, prove just the opposite. For due to the monopoly character of imperialism, the nations which possess colonies have two advantages, especially at this time of intensified economic nationalism and shrinking world markets. First, they can link up their colonies with their own currency systems and in this way obtain the raw materials produced in the colonial areas, without the necessity of having to find valuta to pay for such products. Secondly, the imperial nations also have the opportunity of selling their manufactured goods to the peoples of the subjected nations at high rates of profit. This form of exploitation is achieved by the simple process of keeping out the goods of rivals by tariff laws, imposing discriminatory and preferential import taxes, and other trade regulations.

Competition for Markets a Cause of War: An African Market Place

British "Closed Door"

This is exactly the policy which England, the traditional leader of free trade, has resorted to, particularly since the Ottawa Conference. Gone are the days when the British capitalists are able to boast, as did Chamberlain in the 'nineties of the last century: "We in our colonial policy as fast as we acquire new territory, develop it as trustees for civilisation, for the commerce of the world. We offer in all these markets over which our flag floats the same opportunities, the same open field to foreigners, that we offer to our own subjects and upon the same terms. In that policy we stand alone, because other nations as fast as they acquire new territory . . . . seek at once to secure the monopoly for their own products by preferential and artificial methods."

The British bourgeoisie has gone wholeheartedly over to the policy of the "closed door." Prior to the adoption of this policy, Japanese goods were squeezing British products out of many colonies. For example, Japanese textile exports rose from 25,000,000 yards in 1927 to 63,000,000 yards in 1933 in certain East African colonies alone; while British goods fell from 23,000,000 yards in 1927 to 10,000,000 in 1933. But since the initiation of preferential and protective tariffs, Britain has been able to exclude Japanese textiles from many parts of Africa, the West Indies and other Crown colonies, which have been more or less converted into markets exclusively for the more expensive Lancashire goods.

Britain, however, is not the only country pursuing such a monopoly policy. Japan is also doing the same in Manchuria, Korea, Formosa and Sakhalin; and France in her West Indian colonies, Madagascar, Reunion and Indo-China, where "economic assimilation" has advanced to such a stage that these territories afford 100 per cent preferences to the mother country. Since the French Colonial Conference in 1935, this "closed door" policy has been universally applied to the French colonial empire.

The issue, therefore, is not merely a question of imperialist powers affording non-colonial powers or imperialist nations with few colonies, access to raw materials, but one of greater importance, namely, *sovereignty*. It must be constantly borne in mind that in the epoch of imperialism, the capitalist system has passed from the stage of free competition to monopoly. This being so, the bourgeoisie of the great industrialized nations have not only monopolized the industrial life of the metropolitan countries, but are constantly striving to achieve exclusive control over backward areas of the world, so as to bring them more completely under the domination of finance-capital. For only in this way is it possible for one group of monopoly capitalists to preserve their commercial position against the rivalry of other groups of imperialists on the one hand, and to secure super-profits on their investments, on the other. Therefore, to appeal to the imperialist bourgeoisie to abandon such practices is asking them to do the impossible, for the quintessence of the capitalist system is cut-throat competition among a few great trusts operating on a world scale.

Sovereignty Essential

This brings us to the chief feature of imperialism, which is the export of finance-capital in contradistinction to consumption goods. This process is best facilitated by maintaining direct or indirect political control over the regions in which capital is invested. In this way the controlling power can protect the investments of its nationals and see that its own capitalist class gets the best contracts for public undertakings, such as the construction of railways, harbors, docks, warehouses, bridges, etc.

Even in mandated territories like Tanganyika, where the "open door"

(*Continued on next page*)

policy is supposed to obtain, we find the same monopolistic practices in vogue. This is facilitated by a device which enables the administrators, who are British, to divert all purchases for what are described as public works to the English market. For the clause states that "all purchases made by the mandated territory out of the proceeds of the loans or guarantees must be made in the lending country," which naturally is England. By this procedure British imperialists kill two birds with one stone: they are able to invest their surplus capital in Africa at higher rates of interest than can be obtained at home, and at the same time, find an outlet for the products of the metallurgical and other heavy industries.

Furthermore, sovereignty over backward areas enables the ruling class of the controlling state to rob the indigenous population of its land (South Africa, Kenya), and then force the people, through taxation, to go to work in the mines and plantations for the imperialists at starvation wages. This is exactly the reason why Mussolini declined all concessions offered him during the Abyssinian crisis short of complete conquest. No imperial power will ever be satisfied with merely the right to buy raw materials and trade with the colonies of its rivals, for its real imperialist aims—the exploitation of the natural resources and the labor of the colonial peoples—can only be achieved by first establishing absolute control over these regions. Sovereignty is the crux of the whole colonial question and this can never be solved by peaceful means. For it is obvious that no colonial possession nation will voluntarily share its right of sovereignty with a rival. This applies equally to those territories designated mandates.

Colonies also provide employment for a large number of middle class people and skilled workers in the military and civil services, as well as commercial, banking, shipping, mining and agricultural enterprises, and missionary work, and in this way serve as an outlet for the energies of people who might otherwise be unemployed and contribute to political discontent.

"In the thousands of young men who formed the original *fasci* there must have been many who, in a country with a large colonial empire, would have been soldiers and officials. . . . . It is to be hoped . . . . that there may be a real stocktaking of the position, based on recognition of the fact that one reason why colonies are an asset of imperial control is the possibility they offer of a career for young men who, failing that, may well be potent factors in revolutionizing their own countries and, in the not very long run, making a peaceful Europe impossible." Thus wrote D. V. Brogan in *The Spectator*, October 27, 1935. This is exactly what happened in Germany, where large sections of the middle class, ruined during the inflation period of 1923, without any possibilities for rehabilitating themselves overseas, fell into the hands of the Nazis. But even those who do not find a career in the colonies indirectly benefit from the super-profits obtained by the ruling class through the exploitation of the colored peoples, a fact which accounts for the bourgeoisification and political corruption of the upper strata of the proletariat of all imperialist nations. This corruption reflects itself in the theory and practice of social democracy and British Labour Party policies on the colonial question.

Earle Photo

Dr. D. D. T. Jabavu (left) chairman of the All-African convention of South Africa, being bid bon voyage on the S.S. Queen Mary by Dr. and Mrs. Channing H. Tobias

The imperialists consider colonies as the safety valve against social revolution. And it is precisely for this reason that the European workers can never hope to free themselves without rendering the colonial peoples and subject races of "their" empires the maximum amount of support in their struggle for national freedom and social emancipation.

Valuable Military Adjuncts

There is yet another aspect of the colonial question which in this epoch of imperialist wars and social revolutions has become of the greatest importance for the ruling class, and that is, the military value of colonies. Apart from providing strategic military, naval and aerial bases, they also serve as reservoirs for cannon fodder. This was demonstrated during the World War, when colonial troops, especially Africans and Indians, were used in whole army corps in major operations in Europe, Africa and the Near East. Over 545,000 African native soldiers were employed by France, chiefly as shock troops in stemming the tide of the German advance during the most critical periods of the war.

At the present time, one-third of the French standing army garrisoned in France is composed of colonial professional troops. These fighters will be the first to be used against Germany when the impending conflict breaks out. The reason for this is obvious. Because of their political backwardness they are considered more reliable than European troops, most of whom are recruited from the peasantry, industrial workers and toiling youth, masses infected with revolutionary ideas and pacifist sentiments. Not without reason, the French general staff looks upon the colonial army as the bulwark of French security on the one hand, and a force to crush any attempt by the workers to achieve a social revolution.

Black Italian Troops

Mussolini also intends to exploit the blacks to further his military ends, as has already been demonstrated during the East African War, when Askaris —Italian native soldiers—were made to do most of the fighting by placing them in front of the white troops to open the Abyssinian lines for the Italian Blackshirts. The truth is that every European power is beginning to resort more and more to the use of black troops, not only for imperialist wars, but as mercenaries to stamp out democracy and socialism in Europe. Sir Norman Angell, in an address to the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, in 1936, said, "The real motive of the Italian invasion (of Abyssinia) was not to find an outlet for its population . . . . It was not for raw materials. It was to obtain man-power . . . . we shall find Italy with a million black conscripts, not to fight in Africa, but in Europe."

The use of Moorish troops by Franco confirms this, and should serve as a warning to European workers and democrats. This danger threatens France more than any other European country, but British workers should have no illusions that the Francos of England would have any scruples in using Indian and African troops against them. For they have no greater attachment to "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" than the French bourgeoisie, who have often resorted to the use of black troops in quelling strikes and social unrest in France.

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Editorials

Mr. Justice Black Should Resign

UNLESS he can disprove the charges that he is a life member of the Ku Klux Klan, Mr. Justice Black, newest member of the United States supreme court, should resign. He owes that to the President and to the country.

Some suspicion attaches to the source of the charges against the new justice. It is not heartening, either, to note the type of some of the persons and institutions who have taken up the chorus against the President and Justice Black. Some of the bitterest reactionaries in the country who, in other times and circumstances would shed no tears over the persecution of the Jew, the Catholic, the Negro and the foreign-born, now pretend to be touched to the heart over the treatment these religious and racial groups may receive at the hands of the new member of the nation's highest court.

Notwithstanding the unquestioned hypocrisy of some of the opponents, and notwithstanding Mr. Black's own record of liberal action in the Senate for the past ten years—he supported Al Smith in Klan-ridden Alabama in 1928, fought Tom Heflin, and has been a consistent New Dealer—it must be clear that unless these charges can be disproved, the nation as a whole will suffer by having a Klansman on the high court. For the Klan and the United States Constitution cannot be served at the same time. No man, in this democracy, who believes in "Protestant, white, gentile, native-born supremacy" can believe also in the Bill of Rights.

There are roughly 20 million Catholics in this country, 12 million Negroes, four million Jews and some millions of foreign-born persons. In addition there are members of political minorities who are also targets of the Klan. It is intolerable that these hosts of good Americans should have their rights jeopardized in the court of last resort by a man who has taken an oath to a doctrine deemed to be above the Constitution.

Mr. Justice Black, whose work in behalf of labor legislation had won him many friends among the country's liberal groups, has not eased the shock and discomfort of his supporters by his behavior in Europe upon the announcement of the published charges against him. He has steadfastly refused comment and has dodged from city to city and hotel to hotel—actions hardly compatible with the gravity of the charges against him and the dignity and responsibility of his new office.

At the time of his nomination the N.A.A.C.P. telegraphed the Senate judiciary committee asking that open hearings be held and ample time be given for investigation into the rumors of Mr. Black's alleged membership in the Klan. That request was disregarded and Mr. Black was speedily confirmed. If care had been exercised in August and a thorough examination into Mr. Black's record been made, the President and the country would now be spared the embarrassment occasioned by the current revelations. Since there appears to be no legal method of forcing Mr. Justice Black off the court he should resign, in common decency, if he cannot repudiate and disprove the charge of Klan membership.

Victory for the Porters

THE most important news of the month is the signing of an agreement on working conditions and wages between the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Pullman company. The wage increase, affecting about 8,000 workers, will be between one and two million dollars annually, but as important as that is, the fact that after twelve years a Negro union has won its fight to represent porters and maids in collective bargaining with one of the richest and most powerful corporations in America is still more important.

Under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, Ashley L. Totten, M. P. Webster and other officers and organizers, the Pullman employes have carried on a magnificently brave struggle against unbelievable odds. The company announced in the beginning that it would never recognize a union and never deal with one.

Among the employes themselves there was timidity and venality. One shameful chapter in the long struggle concerned the purchase of the influence of certain newspapers in favor of the company. The company was in a position to browbeat and intimidate employes and it took full advantage. Veterans were discharged, seniority wiped out, choice runs taken away, "dead-heading" increased, stool pigeons employed, green "rural" recruits imported to dislodge those suspected of union activity. Every legal technicality was invoked by company lawyers to wear down the patience of the porters and break up their union.

But they held out. They kept the faith. They went into their slender earnings and paid their own way. They survived bribery, treachery, sabotage, and disheartening shunting about from court to court and labor board to labor board. Today they have won a new and higher place for themselves and their race in America. Our hats are off to them—every one, from their learned president down to the humblest uniformed man and maid who fought the good fight.

Texas Bright Spot

A NEW stride toward sensible, fair attitudes on the race question has been made by Dallas, Texas. Last July the Pan-American games were held in the Texas city in connection with the exposition now in progress and for the first time in the history of Texas Negro track athletes ran in competition with white athletes. Long John Woodruff, University of Pittsburgh star and 1936 Olympic 800-meter champion, won his race, defeating among others a Dallas white lad who now attends school in California. Flying Ben Johnson, captain of the Columbia university track team last spring, won the 60 meters dash; Dave Albritton of Ohio State won the high jump; and Kermit King of the Emporia (Kans.) State Teachers College won the broad jump. Not only did the colored lads compete, but the Dallas *Morning News*, perhaps the best all-around daily paper in Texas, carried photographs of Woodruff, Johnson and Albritton in action. To date no riots have taken place, no Negroes have tried to run for governor, and the daughters, wives and mothers of white Texans are as safe as they were before the epoch-making event.

All this, of course, is as it should be. Last year it was the University of North Carolina which shook off tradition by playing football against New York university with its colored halfback, Edward Williams. Dallas has pointed the way. Perhaps this year it will be a Texas team which will come north and play against any regular member of a northern team regardless of his color. Sports seem to be making progress in interracial common sense where sociologists and propagandists bog down.

Modern Prodigal

(*Continued from page* 301)

somehow, he was glad it had not come. In a few words he established his assumed identity. His name was Adams, Lee Adams, and he was on a long journey from Chicago to a point still farther away. He wanted to break the trip by stopping somewhere tonight. On the train from New Orleans someone had told him of Mr. and Mrs. Sawyer as nice people to stop with, and here he was. Would she put him up overnight? He would pay her well for her trouble.

With true Louisiana hospitality Sarah Sawyer invited him into the house.

"Sho' you kin stay. We ain't much of a place, but ef you kin put up with it, why we'll be glad to have you. 'Tain't often strangers draps aroun' heah."

Slim followed her into the cabin. How familiar everything was! The oven of the big cook-stove in the center of the wall opposite the outside door, was sending forth fragrant whiffs of something baking. On the stove were a sauce pan, a kettle and a big black iron pot. In a corner of the room, near an open window was the table spread with a neatly patched blue checked table cloth, and laid for two people. Slim thrilled to think that soon another place would be there for him. The willow rocker that he had helped his father make sat turned toward the door, as if Sarah had been sitting in it looking out when the stranger came up the path.

She led him across the kitchen to a door on one side of the stove. Opening this door she stood aside with fine courtesy to let Slim enter.

"I'm sho' it ain't what you is used to, sah," she apologized, "but sech as it is, you is welcome to it. Jes' mak yo' se'f comfatible. I'll bring you some hot watah so you kin wash de dus' off yo'se'f. Dis Looziana dus' sho' sticks. My husban'll be in f'm de fiel' soon, an' we kin have suppah."

She walked out, closing the door behind her, and leaving Slim to look around him. He was in his own room once more. The rafters were darker now than they were when he used to lie in the white covered bed and look up at them at night. Vivid colored pictures from magazines, posters and newspapers were pasted on the walls. He fingered some of the prints tenderly, realizing the fact that he had often helped his mother paste such on the walls when he was a boy. White barred dimity curtains hung at the two windows. A rag carpet covered most of the floor. Near the door through which he had just come stood an old-fashioned wash stand with a large tin bowl and pitcher.

"Heah's yo' watah."

Stepping to the door Slim opened it and received a bucket of cold water and a kettle of hot water from Sarah.

When he reappeared in the kitchen, he was rewarded with a smile and an appreciative glance from Sarah.

"Son, yo' sho' looks a heap bettah sence gettin' shet of some of dat dus'. Dey ain't no dus' nowheres else in de whole worl' lak dis Looziana dus'. It sticks lak leeches. Set down an res' yo' se'f. My husban' be comin' any time now. Set in de willow rocker."

"But won't I be robbing you?" Slim's whole being was throbbing with a strong ache at sound of that word "son". But he realized that it was only a term of kindness and friendliness, nothing more.

"Shucks! A woman don' have time to set down near meal-time," he heard Sarah say, as she stooped to open the oven door.

Slim sat in the rocker, his eyes on his mother. She was so much thinner than he had ever known her. Already the trembling, uncertain movements of old age were creeping upon her. The spryness, while not altogether gone, was somehow less dynamic, less vital. A step on the porch—Slim looked up into the eyes of his father. Involuntarily he rose to his feet.

Sarah had heard the step, for she came forward.

"Andrew, dis is Mr. Lee Adams. He come f'rum Chicago an' is on his way to Baker, an' he ast to stop heah ovah night. Mr. Adams, dis is my husban', Mr. Andrew Sawyer."

Feeling the shrewd, close scrutiny of the tall, straight old man's eyes, Slim felt a chill as he stretched out his hand to meet the other's. As their hands clasped, Slim's thumb doubled under his finger in a movement he had not made since leaving home. He felt a sudden fear. This little trick was one his father had taught him. It was their sign of sticking together in any plot conceived and carried out against the wishes of Sarah. Slim looked searchingly into Andrew's eyes, but they were the unfathomable, scrutinizing eyes of one meeting and appraising a stranger.

After a few words of formal greeting, Andrew withdrew to another room opening out of the kitchen. Slim remembered again. No matter how hungry or tired her men-folks, Sarah always made them "fresh up" before eating their evening meal.

By the time Andrew appeared once more, the supper was sending out tantalizing odors from the table. The three sat down and began to eat. Little was said, except by Sarah, full of womanly curiosity as to the ways of city folks. Andrew ate in silence, but Slim knew that the old man was mercilessly scrutinizing, analyzing and classifying him.

WHEN the meal was over the two men repaired to the porch, Andrew to smoke, and Slim to watch the advancing night as it slowly conquered the west and spread up the heavens. Finally Sarah joined them, and began to speak.

"I put Mr. Adams into the little room, Andrew".

"Uh huh", grunted Andrew between puffs at his pipe.

Sarah leaned toward Slim.

"You know, Mr. Adams, it's our boy's room. He lef' us twenty-five years ago."

"Dead, you mean?"

"No. He runned off. Jes' lef' one day 'thout rhyme or reason."

Slim expressed his sympathy. Encouraged by his words Sarah poured out the whole story of her fears, her sorrow and her sleepless nights.

"Hain't a night passed sence then what I don' pray for him. I ast God to let me see my baby boy once mo'. We ain' nevah knowed why he runned away. Lawd knows we was as kin' to him as we knowed how to be."

"Perhaps he'll come back some day, rich an able to help you," suggested Slim.

"Dat's what I tells Andrew all time," answered Sarah, looking in the direction of the glowing pipe embers," but he say de boy is daid, or good as daid."

"Good as dead?"

"Yes, he say ef his tuhned out to be a worthless no-count rascal, his good as daid to him."

"An' I'm right!" exclaimed Andrew, and the glowing embers in his pipe came to rest with a slight thud on the railing. "A man what don' say nothin' in twenty-five years to his parents what done all they could fo' find him, is daid or a no-'count rascal."

"He may have been hindered in getting in touch with you. Maybe he couldn't send you anything. That is—something may have——".

"Ef he's lived de right kin' o' life, he'd write to his folks even ef he ain't got nothin' to send em."

"Andrew, go in an light de lamp," Sarah's tone was peevish. She didn't want Andrew giving this stranger the wrong impression of her boy.

Slim leaped up. "Let me!" he exclaimed, "I know where it is."

In the darkness he walked across the porch into the kitchen. Unconsciously as he crossed the porch, there was a slight dragging sound as if one of his feet had gone suddenly lame, or was moved with difficulty because of a heavy weight.

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Domestics Should Organize

Pittsburgh, Pa., *Courier*

OF THE 50,000,000 domestic workers in the United States, nearly 35 per cent are Negroes. They are in the main, the lowest paid and longest worked employees in the United States.

Most of these workers toil from 12 to 14 hours a day, often seven days a week under the most unfavorable working conditions. In effect, most of them are working on miniature plantations, Simon Legree and all.

They not only must work for starvation wages at long hours, but in many cases the women and girls are subjected to the approaches of the men for whom they work.

Most of these workers get a minimum of $3 weekly in the South and from $4 to $5 minimum in the North. They are usually kept busy the whole day long and well into the night, and where they "Sleep in," they are subject to call at all hours.

There are many domestic workers who get adequate pay and work for comparatively short periods, but these workers have no way of protecting their preferred position.

They cannot regulate the wages others will ask for, and so are in constant danger of being undermined and displaced.

Domestic workers coming from the South where they have been used to low wages are much pleased when they come North and are offered two or three dollars more a week.

They take other Negro workers' jobs by hiring out more cheaply but pretty soon they discover that what seemed larger pay is nothing of the sort. By that time some other "green" worker comes along and underbids THEM.

Domestic workers are just as necessary and valuable to society as any other workers and their work is no less noble.

They ought to be paid a living wage, but the class of people who hire most of them are determined to pay as little as possible.

The only solution for the dilemma of the domestic worker, then, is unionization with a 40- or 44-hour week, a living wage scale and modern working conditions, and preferably affiliation with some large aggregation of workers.

Such a step would improve the condition of domestic workers, bring added revenue to our group and immeasurably increase the dignity of Negro labor in particular.

Two very significant accomplishments were made by colored Americans this year. (1) Representative Homer Brown forced an Amendment to the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Act which prevents labor organizations which discriminate against colored workers from receiving any benefits under the Act. (2) The victory of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in obtaining a wage increase of $1,250,000 for the more than 8,000 porters and maids.

For 10 years the porters and maids have struggled for higher wages and better working conditions under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph. On August 25 the Pullman Company signed an agreement with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It is the first time a major industry has signed an agreement with a labor organization controlled by Negroes. The Brotherhood is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor . . .—Philadelphia *Tribune*.

The nation's latest piece of lynch-mob violence is the shooting, in Mount Vernon, Georgia, of an elderly Negro accused by the mob of concealing its intended victim from it. The same mob also seriously wounded the mayor of the town, who tried to intervene.

How will southern justice dispose of this case? That remains to be seen, but how did it dispose of the bestial blow-torch slaying of two young Negroes at Duck Hill, Mississippi, on April 14? What was ever done about the lynching of a 22-year-old Negro at Abbeyville, Alabama, on February 2? Were the men who took two prisoners from a Tallahassee, Florida, jail on July 20 and lynched them, ever apprehended or brought to justice? What of the six men who seized a Negro suspect near Covington, Tennessee, on August 17 and killed him?

In pleading against the federal anti-lynch bill at the last session of Congress, southern representatives said that the South could dispose of cases of mob violence by itself. Time passes, and the cases are allowed to be forgotten. And meantime the anti-lynching bill remains on the Senate's list of unfinished business for next session.—St. Louis, Mo., *Star*.

Negro teachers, members of the New Orleans Teachers' Association, should be very thankful for, and certainly are indebted to, Miss Myrtle Rey, president of the New Orleans Public School Teachers' Association, and its members for the fine support given their petition to the Orleans Parish School Board for a more liveable wage schedule . . .

And in this same connection, we would point out that the differential between the salaries paid Negro and white teachers is still far too great. If equal salaries are not to be paid members of both races, equally qualified, for equal labor, it seems to us to be grounds for legal action. Both in Maryland and now in Alabama the cause for equal pay was brought to the attention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In Maryland they won after several court sessions. In Alabama the matter is just now under way. Proper support given the Association here might be of similar help to New Orleans' Negro teachers in their requests for fair treatment.—Louisiana *Weekly*.

It is to be generally regretted that the racial and interracial forces responsible for the freedom of the four Scottsboro boys could not rescue them from the channels of exploitation into which they seemed to have fallen . . .

From this distance, it appears that they have fallen under influences inimical to their own interests and are headed for some bitter experiences . . .

It will hurt this generation of underprivileged people, and the next, if the forces of exploitation and opportunism are permitted to turn the significant victory won over intolerance and injustice in Alabama into a fiasco . . .—Norfolk *Journal and Guide*.

The Jews have been wise enough to always have well-educated and conscientious preachers. The Catholics ever fill their pulpits with able fighters for the faith, for they know that apathy in a congregation speedily breeds atheism.—Cincinnati *Union*.

A Treatise on Mulattoes

By George S. Schuyler

A new book on the absorbing topic of racial intermixture is reviewed for THE CRISIS

NOT since Finot's *Race Prejudice* shot like a lightning flash through the murk of Negrophobia, has so thorough, so entertaining and so informative a book on the sempiternal subject of miscegenation appeared as *Half-Caste* by Cedric Dover (Seeker & Warburg. London, 1937, $2.62).

It is such a cool breeze through the miasmic swamps of raceology that one feels like shouting its merits from the housetops, if one had hopes of being heard above the clatter of gamins, auto horns and trams.

A scholarly treatise on mulattoes, whence they come, what they are and where they are going, it might well be called a primer for integrationists. Happily free from the stuffy bookishness of so many tomes on the race question, it approaches the subject minus the usual timidity and squeamishness. Armed with penetrating logic, scathing invective and uremic wit it removes the horny layers of hypocrisy with which the topic of miscegenation is generally caked.

It is as contemporaneous as the C.I.O. and as controversial as a Communist convention, and will serve for many a day as the standard guide book to the far-flung new "races" in process of formation wherever divergent types have met and loved, if not wisely, then at least very well.

Himself a half-caste (Eurasian), Mr. Dover lays about him with the savage vigor and grim satisfaction of one who has felt the barbs of white scorn and oppression. He is ruthless in his ridicule of the pseudo-scientists who have made an intellectual racket out of race, and several "respectable" anthropologists get a severe drubbing. His gift of phrase adds bounce and zip to his writing, and while his thesis is heavily documented and quotations are as thick as morons at a Nazi congress, the reader rarely finds the book heavy going and never finds it dull. If our schools were designed for education instead of regimentation, *Half-Caste* would be required reading. But of course if we were that civilized, such books would be unnecessary.

Almost as much nonsense has been written against race mixtures as about religion, but both continue down through the ages, all efforts of opponents to the contrary notwithstanding. As Mr. Dover says, the professors and politicians "have contributed a vast mass of pseudo-science to the more delicate technics of bastard baiting and bluffing, and to the creation of a consciousness of genetic guilt in the *sang mêlé*" which has done a tremendous amount of cultural harm to human brotherhood, but has not halted the mixing.

Declaring that "Gold and the Gospels created the 'half-caste problem,'" the author proceeds in a capable manner to show how this came about while at the same time exploding land mines under the conclusions of "scientists" who after profound research "proved" what they wanted to establish. In these early chapters is to be found much that is extremely valuable and timely on racial capacity, the products of race mixture considered biologically and sociologically, the artificiality of much of the race prejudice, and the forces that draw peoples together regardless of laws and public opinion. Although race prejudice has "become a basic political principle of capitalist society" nevertheless "every nation is now an ethnic *mélange*."

No Mass Mixture

The author thinks "the growth of social tolerance is unlikely to lead to miscegenation on a mass scale. It may stimulate an increase in intermarriage, controlled by selective factors which would preserve social equilibrium, but one cannot visualize a collosal indulgence in the 'attraction of opposites' because restraining influences have been removed. In fact even the definite encouragement of widespread crossing is unlikely to be as effective as its sponsors are inclined to imagine. . . . The petty conceit of discouragement therefore reveals itself as a device for the protection of social inequality masquerading as racial control."

There is much truth there, but not all of it. Only once does Mr. Dover touch upon the connection between blackness and virility, and then more or less in passing, when he mentions that "those ethnic groups with the most alkaline blood reactions and highest metabolic rates are the darkest, the Negroid color, for instance being 'indicative of an abundant physiological reserve of sodium,' a condition also accounting for the masculinity and strength of the Negro woman." He goes on: "The acceptance of these interesting speculations involves so close a connection between blackness and virility that I hesitate to emphasize them, for the growth of a defense mechanism aimed at a mere reversal of color values in a social scene would be just as regrettable as the present situation."

But it seems to me that we have to face the facts authenticated from a thousand sources sacred and profane. The darker peoples *are* more virile than the whites. There are a hundred scholars, a thousand writers and countless millions of plain people who concede that fact. Sir Francis Burton and others have sung or cursed the virility of the Negro, male and female. Any unexpurgated edition of the *Thousand Nights and One Night* or the *Perfumed Garden* states in a hundred places what every person on the street knows. It is this widespread belief in the physical superiority of the Negro that accounts for much, if not most of the restrictions surrounding him. Let some dictator sterilize all of America's male Negroes and the race problem would be solved post haste.

American Negroes Better Off

Mr. Dover gives an extremely valuable and up-to-date survey of the status of half-caste populations in all parts of the world, and after reading it an American Negro will conclude that our polyglot "race" here is perhaps in a better position than any other mixed group. Almost everywhere else the position of the mulattoes ranges from tragic through pathetic to unenviable. Frequently they are rebuffed by both parent groups, above and below. Some, here and there, have the good sense, in spite of their mis-education, to cast their lot with the dark side, but generally they sit unashamedly on the white folks' back steps begging a chance to cuddle by the kitchen stove, while upstaging the blacks down by the barn. In an emergency the white overlords call upon them for help which is always given with pathetic eagerness. But when the fuss is over and Nordica is still in the lead, they are booted unceremoniously into the wood shed. Where the white rulers are greatly in the minority, they always use these half-castes as a buffer between themselves

and the restless blackamoors at the bottom.

In America, fortunately, the half-castes were not needed (hence despised except as appointed leaders of blacks). Swarms of white serfs and wage slaves from European slums always kept the Negroes a minority here. Thus, while the half-caste, as elsewhere, had a perfectly just claim on both groups, he was thrust from the whites and among the blacks even though often indistinguishable from a so-called Aryan. He became a Negro, that illogical American social entity which baffles sensible definition but bolsters the system of exploitation by inflating puny white egos. As such he has contributed his admittedly great gifts to the group that needed them most and made it the strongest of its kind in the world. Albeit these "Negroes" are 80% white and Amerindian!!

Unlike his brethren elsewhere, the American "Negro" is rapidly heaving intra-racial color prejudices overboard and more readily detects the Aryan feet of clay incased though they be in Cordovan boots. It is the keen awareness of this smiling criticism and increasing loss of awe that so nettles many of our white folks. Mr. Dover's treatise will not add to their complacency.

New World War

(*Continued from page* 304)

Re-distribution as a Solution

So much for the general statement of the colonial problem. Now what is the solution, if any? Our contention is that there can be no peaceful solution to the colonial question within the existing social order. However, there are many eminent authorities on imperial and colonial matters who think otherwise. Let us examine their points of view. We shall begin with Lord Lothian, who, as Philip Kerr, was private secretary to David Lloyd George. He served as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of the India Offices 1931–35.

This distinguished publicist advocates returning to Germany her colonies and distributing others among dissatisfied powers in order to appease them. Such a suggestion should cause no surprise, for was it not his Lordship who was one of those largely responsible for the annexation of the territories of the defeated powers under the camouflage of mandates? Evidently Lord Lothian is trying to make amends at this late hour.

But apart from the shameful idea of treating Africans as chattels, it is hardly necessary to say that the Tories, whose slogan is: "What we have we hold," would never tolerate such a suggestion. For if German and Italian imperialisms consider colonies necessary for their national well-being, it is logical that the same applies to British imperialism. We can well imagine L. S. Amery saying, "What is good for them is good for us." The trouble with Liberals like Lord Lothian is that they do not understand, or rather they do not want to understand, that, thanks to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, there can be no such thing as an equitable distribution of territory. For in the imperialist stage of capitalist development the ruling classes of every industrialized nation are all striving after the same objective, namely, *monopoly*. Monopoly of markets, monopoly of raw materials, monopoly of spheres for capital investment, monopoly of every phase of economic exploitation. It is precisely this monopolistic feature which occupies the first place in the national economics and politics of the great world powers and mitigates against the application of the "Open Door."

International Control

As against this idea of a voluntary distribution of territories by Lord Lothian, there are others like J. L. Hammond, who suggests that "one by one the problems of colonies should be detached from the rivalries of nations and put under international control," as a solution of the problem. Let us examine this brilliant idea. Before Mr. Hammond's project could get started, it would be necessary to prevail upon the predatory imperialists to surrender control over their territories in favor of some international authority. Could anybody imagine such a thing happening? But even if by some miracle the British and other imperialist classes could be induced to commit *hara-kiri*—which such a surrender of sovereignty would amount to—then, and only then, could Mr. Hammond's International Civil Service be set up.

But no sooner started than we would be up against another formidable difficulty. For, in order to make such a civil service truly international, it would have to be composed of the representatives of all the great powers, reflecting their different national ideologies—Fascism (Italy), Nazism (Germany), Republicanism (France), Socialism (Norway), Imperialism (Britain), communism (Soviet Union), not to mention Catholicism, Protestantism, Zionism—for to disregard these religious elements would be courting disaster. No, no, Mr. Hammond's idea is too Utopian to admit of any possibility of success. Lord Lugard expressed the opinion that though Mr. Hammond's wider suggestion is a "great and attractive idea," experience both in the colonies and on the Mandates Commission prove it to be unworkable in practice, chiefly for lack of a "common standard."

The Mandate System

The most serious suggestion, and the one which meets with the widest support in British Liberal and Labor circles is the idea put forward by Sir Arthur Salter, for eight years director of the economic and finance section of the League of Nations, and professor of political theory and institutions at Oxford. In this he is supported by Professor Norman Bentwich, formerly attorney-general to the government of Palestine, and professor of international relations at the University of Jerusalem, and Leonard Barnes, formerly an official in the British Colonial Service, and author of several books on Empire. Dr. Salter's idea is that the present mandates system be extended to embrace all territories which are at present administered as Crown colonies and protectorates in tropical Africa. At the same time they advocate giving the Mandates Commission the right to visit the mandated territories. Mr. Barnes further contends that in carrying out such an idea the British—and presumably the French—government should demand from the Fascist powers as a *quid pro quo* certain guarantees for letting them share in the mandates. What are these guarantees?

(1) That they should apply the principle of "trusteeship," that is to say, the Fascists are to undertake to treat the blacks even better than they treat the Jews, workers, democrats and liberals at home, for trusteeship means paramountcy of native welfare.

(2) That the dictators should agree to disarm.

(3) That they should enter a system of co-operative defence. Defence against whom? Presumably the blacks, for since we take it that Mr. Barnes' suggestions are being put forward with the object of eliminating imperialist rivalries and wars, we do not know who else he can have in mind. For if Mr. Barnes' solution is really *the* solution to the colonial question, then there will be no need for a system of "co-operative defence" except against those whom the united imperialists of Europe will be exploiting, namely, the Africans.

Surely Mr. Barnes, who is undoubtedly in sympathy with the colonial peoples, as expressed in his *The Duty of Empire*, will admit that even under the most perfect mandatory system, exploitation will continue as long as the economic basis of such a system is predicated upon the principles of capitalism. It is the economic system that

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How Radical Are College Students?

By Edward Warner Brice

NATHANIEL FLAGG and I were sitting together in a small restaurant in a southern college town when a woman said to her companion, "It's a disgraceful state of affairs, but what can they do?"

The reference was made to a strike that was going on in a small denominational school on the outskirts of the city. A group of "radical" students was demanding better food and more adequate hospitalization.

My companion looked at me and asked, "Shall we tell her that the situation is not disgraceful and that the majority of Negro students is not radical, but reactionary?"

Wandering about over America, and visiting the most of her colleges for Negroes since 1933, I have been appalled at the amount of conservatism shown by our youth. Recently I attended the Alabama Institute of Religion held on the campus of Talladega college. At this institute was gathered a group comprising about one hundred persons representing some 13 or 14 colleges and universities in Alabama. Nearly half of the representatives were white. A decade ago this meeting would have been labeled "communistic." Yet during all of the discussion periods not one single radical tendency was shown, or the tearing down of the old order once advocated. But still they were not satisfied with the status quo.

The *Literary Digest* poll held this year shows that the majority of the students in American institutions of higher learning are conservative, if not actually reactionary. Studies show that the majority of both Negro and white students is in favor of the policies of the Roosevelt administration. Our Negro college youth show an increasing majority in favor of Roosevelt, perhaps due to the fact that under this administration they have gained more aid from the government than under any other. The National Student League for Industrial Democracy, the student Socialist organization, had approximately 3,000 members in 1932. Only a few of these were Negroes and none of these members attended southern Negro colleges. Negro students have followed the trend of the times. They have gone from blustering Hooverism to the acute and active liberalism as typified by the New Deal; not from conservatism to Marxism.

Students Deny Radicalism

Our Negro college students and even students in mixed schools are quick to deny that they are radical. An editor of a college paper who is a well-known personage, when asked by the school heads what position the paper was taking in the fight between students and school authorities, stated that he wasn't going to "horn in on either side." Later he explained his action. "You see," he said, "I hate to incur the displeasure of the college authorities, and anyway I really think we should be considerate about some things."

Not only is this attitude being expressed, but the majority of students seems to have an inbred hatred for anything termed "radical." In a sociology class of one of our well-known southern industrial colleges, a bitter, pitched battle was waged between a so-called pacifist organizer and a group of students who felt that if America entered another war it would be their patriotic duty to help defend the country. Even after pacifism is coated with such slogans as "new freedom" our undergraduates find it unpalatable.

The Negro student has no particular interest in militant pacifism except from the viewpoint that war may jeopardize his future economic security. They feel that they are entitled at least to a fair chance of earning a living. At best they do not understand the social and economic complications that might bring war as explained in the communistic doctrine. They are in sympathy with the capitalistic system because they probably rationalize that out of it will come chances for future development and economic stability. The depression has made them discard the slogan that prosperity is just around the corner, but they still believe, or at least most of them, that a man can lift himself by his own bootstraps with a little constant prodding on the side. The tendency seems to be that even though it will take years they are willing to take the chance.

Students Seek Status

It is interesting to notice the optimism of the average college student. For the reason that he cannot understand why we should be bothered with the problem of war in a modern society, he cannot be convinced that America has no place for him. He supports the New Deal because it offers him a measure of consolation. Students debunk the various theories as advanced by our so-called race leaders and say, "We dont know exactly all of what we want, but we want peace and happiness of mind, opportunities to develop to our fullest capabilities."

In speaking of the race problem, they take the keenest delight in saying, "Oh, that, why it has been solved a thousand times verbally." From his early childhood the Negro youth is taught not to stray from the narrow gauge that encloses his life. It is too much to expect him to forget or overcome the training of a lifetime within the space of a few short years.

With loud fan-fare and carefully staged publicity the attitudes of our college students have been brought before the public. They have been called cowards, weaklings, and sissies.

There is the case of Ishmael Flory of Fisk university, a graduate student from California on a special honor scholarship. He was expelled from Fisk because he "dared" to organize a protest against the Nashville singers appearing in a Nashville Jim Crow theatre, where colored people must go up a back alley to sit in the gallery. Nothing was done about it. Or the question is asked why the Hampton students did not protest over the death of a young Hampton graduate coaching at the Alabama A. and M. Institute at Normal, Ala., who was beaten to death by a brutal mob in Birmingham on his way to see his own team play. Also why the Negro students of Ohio State university did not attend the protest demonstration staged on the campus for the benefit of the Scottsboro boys. Was it because they thought it was "communist inspired?"

These and other questions might give certain indices to the situation as a whole. Students in our colleges represent many strata of society. But generally it is conceded that the majority comes from the Negro bourgeoisie class. The range of economic interest of the members of our race is not really great enough to relegate definite positions. From studies made it has been generally concluded that the majority of our students earns at least part of their way through school. They are in some manner indebted to the hands that are feeding them.

On the walls of the registration building of one of our larger institutions there hangs this motto, placed there by its famous founder: "Whose Bread I Eat, His Song I Sing." So it is true of any human being. You can go to any college campus where a strike has failed, get in touch with the leaders of the strike (if they are still there) and ask them about the failure and in nine cases out of ten they will tell you that the administration did not quell the strike, but the students who were not in sympathy with the student's side of the issue and did not wish to place their jobs in jeopardy broke the revolt.

Conservatism not Surprising

It is not surprising that radicalism has not yet swept over our campuses. The students know more of poverty than they did even five years ago. The depression has caused them to analyze their position in a clearer light. As the years roll by they see their classmates dropping out of school, their roommates forced to wear discarded second-hand clothes obtained from some relative, and boys sleeping by the threes and fours in the basements of buildings while stealing their meals from the various stores and vendor's stands in the town. Not only have they seen these things but they have seen how hard their families were hit by the depression. They know that their families are suffering from lack of the bare necessities of life. Yet these conditions have not become so adverse as to make them want to start a revolution. They want fundamental changes to be made, but to tear out the roots of the present system they do not care to do.

It is true that our colleges are more broadminded and enlightened than they were even a decade ago. But, as Monroe Sweetland said in an article written for THE CRISIS sometime ago, "Some people profess to believe that there is a great wave of radicalism sweeping the Negro colleges. Nothing is farther from the truth. . . . . Negro college students are not radical; they are reactionary."

Modern Prodigal

(*Continued from page* 306)

As he placed the chimney on the lighted lamp, a cold sweat broke out on him. He realized what he had done. After a year of practicing and being on his guard, he had gone back to the habit burned into his blood by nineteen years of wearing the ball and chain. Cautiously, every nerve on guard, he walked back to his seat in the far corner of the porch. In passing, he cast a glance at Andrew's face, dimly visible in the faint reflection of the lamp in the kitchen. The old man was looking off into the darkness, smoking away. Slim fancied that the muscles of his mouth quivered an instant, and then set in a granite line.

Sarah took up the conversation. "My boy wouldn't do nothin' whut wuzn't right," she declared stoutly, "ez hard ez we tried to raise him right."

"But it might be easy for a young lad to get into trouble. Maybe he did go wrong, but if he was sorry an' wanted to come back——"

"He could come, bless God," cried Sarah. "but my baby wouldn't do no wrong. He's alive, too, somewhere an' he'll come back yet. I don' believe he's daid——"

"It would be too bad," murmured Slim.

Removing his pipe once more, Andrew remarked in low, tense tones. "I'd rather believe he's daid than come to some things I can think of. Some things is worse than death."

A slow tightening around Slim's throat and chest. "What, for instance?" he asked, after a thick silence.

"Servin' time in the pen," returned the old man.

"No mattah whah he is, or what he done, he's my own little baby whut I borned into dis worl'. He kin come to his mammy f'um any place he's at," sobbed Sarah.

With an effort Slim spoke again. "Suppose he had—served time—an' had got out—an' made money an' come back to take care o' you——"

Andrew bit in savagely, "Ef he done made his peace with God an' made his money clean, he be welcome. Ef he ain't, he could take hissel'f an' his money an' hit de highway. We kep' de family name clean an' clear fo' lo dese many yeahs, an' we don' what was right in de sight of de Lawd. We ain't gwine be disgraced an' made ashame in ouah ol' age. Honest want is bettah dan dishonest' plenty."

The yellow moon was now shining directly upon their faces. To hide whatever his countenance might betray, Slim leaned back in the shadow of the vines covering one side of the porch. He knew too well that old man. Arguing with him was about as effective as using one's fists to beat a way out of a tomb of solid granite. His mother, rocking softly, had covered her face with her apron and was sobbing softly.

At last Slim arose, said goodnight and went to his room. Locking the door he sat on the side of the bed. Dejectedly his head sank into his hands. For a long time he sat there. Finally he arose, walked to the chair upon which his bag rested, opened the bag and took therefrom a writing case. After taking out an envelope and a piece of paper he closed the bag and seated himself beside the lamp stand. Slowly he began writing:—

"Dear Mrs. Sawyer,

I have decided to take the three o'clock morning train. So when you get up I'll be gone. I'm leaving a little gift in the letter. Think of me sometime.

Thank you,

Lee Adams"

From his money belt he counted out some of the currency—fifty ten dollar bills, twenty fives and twenty twenties—$1,000 in all—placed it in the envelope with the letter, and stood the sealed letter against the bowl on the washstand.

* * * *

THE stars dimming in the early morning sky looked down upon a man trudging through the dusty road leading back to the railroad station. His well-tailored clothes and expensive luggage were covered with a film of yellow, clinging dust.

Congressman Mitchell Petitions I.C.C.

A petition has been filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, of Illinois, demanding that the inequalities in the service on the railroads in the South be wiped out. Mr. Mitchell, whose petition was filed September 1, points out that although colored people pay the same fare on the railroads in the South as others, they do not receive the same equipment and the same service. Congressman Mitchell has pending a $50,000 damage suit against the Rock Island and Illinois Central Railroads and the Pullman company. The action is the outgrowth of his being denied Pullman accommodations recently on a trip from Chicago to Arkansas.

National Negro Congress to Philadelphia

The Second National Negro Congress will meet in Philadelphia, Pa., October 15–17. The first congress was held in Chicago in February, 1936. A. Philip Randolph is president of the congress and John P. Davis is secretary. The national headquarters is at 717 Florida avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Library Wants THE CRISIS

The Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland, is very anxious to complete its file of THE CRISIS and solicits offers of Volumes 1-28, 33-34, 36 (1910-1923, 1926-1927, 1929).

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

President Urged to Ask Black Resignation

Following the publication, during the week of September 13–18, in syndicated newspaper articles that Hugo L. Black, appointed to the supreme court in August by President Roosevelt, is a life member of the Ku Klux Klan, the N.A.A.C.P. sent a telegram to Mr. Roosevelt urging him to request the resignation of Justice Black if the latter could not disprove the charges of Klan membership. The telegram follows:

> "After the nomination of Senator Black as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, disturbed by rumors of his connection with the Ku Klux Klan, telegraphed Senate Judiciary Committee strongly urging open hearings be held and opportunity for examination into alleged Klan membership be given. However, our request with numerous others of similar nature was disregarded by Committee and nomination favorably reported to Senate without open hearings, and statements were made on the floor of the Senate that Senator Black had denied any connection whatever with the Klan. In view of present revelations in syndicated newspaper articles that Senator Black holds life membership in Ku Klux Klan, and especialy in view of silence of Senator Black on these widely publicized charges, this Association urges most emphatically that you as Chief Executive of the Nation, who nominated Senator Black in good faith and without knowledge of this affiliation, call upon him to resign his post or take other appropriate action in the absence of repudiation and disproof of the charges by Senator Black to relieve yourself and the nation of the embarrassment of having upon the highest court a man pledged to uphold principles inimical to true Americanism. It seems to us impossible that any man can uphold the doctrines of the Ku Klux Klan and at the same time keep his oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States."

Peonage Charges Placed Before Cummings

During September the national office placed before Attorney General Cummings two situations in the South which seemed to be violations of federal peonage statutes. In Miami, Fla., it is reported by the Miami *Daily News* that the city officials, in order to provide free labor to remove trash and garbage, are permitting the police to round up Negroes as vagrants. The usual vagrancy sentence is thirty days in jail and these prisoners are immediately taken out to work on city streets. The *Daily News* explained that since the budget for trash collection was exhausted the officials chose this method of continuing collections without additional expense.

It was reported from Warren county, Ga., that cotton planters there were using armed guards to patrol their plantations and prevent Negro cotton pickers from moving off into a neighboring county where wages were almost one hundred per cent higher. The Warren county plantations pay 40¢ a hundred pounds and the neighboring county is offering 75¢ a hundred. Newspaper reports stated that the Warren county guards fired their rifles and shot guns in the air to frighten Negro cotton pickers into remaining on the plantations.

The N.A.A.C.P. has asked the attorney general's office for a thorough investigation into both these situations and for prosecution in the federal courts if the federal law is found to have been violated.

Protest Killing

A protest and request for investigation by Gov. Fred P. Cone has been made by the N.A.A.C.P. in the killing of Stafford Dames, Jr., by three Miami policemen on July 27. Young Dames was killed almost at the doorstep of his home as he was returning from visiting a friend. The story of the police was that they caught him trying to enter a window of a Catholic church. Dames had been altar boy at the church for six years. Local authorities absolved the police with the statement that they had killed Dames "in the performance of duty." The American Civil Liberties Union and the N.A.A.C.P. are working jointly on the case at the request of the father of the slain youth, who is manager of the Miami office of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company.

Restored to Job as Letter Carrier

Arthur S. Hames, veteran letter carrier of Houston, Texas, has been reinstated following persistent efforts in his behalf by W. J. Johnson, a white attorney there, the Houston branch of the N.A.A.C.P., and the National Alliance of Postal Employes. Hames was accused of removing samples of chewing gum from the mail. Mr. Johnson and the Houston branch went into the case in the greatest detail and secured affidavits refuting everyone of the allegations. With the help of the N.A.P.E., the post office department in Washington finally was induced to review the evidence, with the result that Mr. Hames was restored to his job.

Southern Conference Adopts Program

A seven-point program has been adopted by the regional conference of southern branches of the N.A.A.C.P., according to J. L. LeFlore of Mobile, Ala., secretary of the conference.

The program outlines a vigorous fight against (1) educational inequalities; (2) discrimination on railroads; (3) discrimination in employment; (4) the white Democratic primary; (5) police brutality; (6) crime among Negroes, particularly homicides; and (7) lynching.

It was also announced by Mr. LeFlore that Col. A. T. Walden of Atlanta, member of the national board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., and prominent attorney of the Georgia capital, has been named regional counsellor in complete charge of the legal work of the southern conference.

The Ohio state conference of branches is meeting in Toledo September 25–26 and a report of the proceedings will appear in the next issue of The Crisis. The Pennsylvania state conference met September 11 and a report of its proceedings will appear next month also.

N.A.A.C.P. Secures Equal Salaries for Teachers

When the colored teachers in Montgomery county, Md., took up their duties this fall they were receiving as an increase in salary, 50% of the difference between their salaries last year and the salaries of white teachers of the same grade and next fall they will receive the other 50% as result of the court action instituted by the N.A.A.C.P. in behalf of William Gibbs, Jr.

The board of education of Montgomery county decided to settle the matter by agreement out of court. By next fall salaries of Negro teachers will be equal to those of white teachers. According to this arrangement a colored teacher who was receiving, for example, $400 less than a white teacher of the same grade, is now receiving only $200 less and next year will be receiving the same salary.

The increases to the colored teachers this year amount to a total of $15,000. Other counties in Maryland and other states are studying the action in Montgomery county with a view to taking similar action in their localities.

Branch News

A total of $1848.98 was raised in the recent membership campaign of the **Philadelphia, Pa.**, branch. Dr. Harry J. Greene is branch president, I. Maximilian Martin, secretary, and Mrs. Annie L. McDougald was campaign director. The West Philadelphia campaign division brought in the largest sum of money, $839.91, followed by the South Philadelphia division with $484.75; North Philadelphia, $261.81; Germantown, $115.10; Youth Council, $43.31; Frankford, $28.50 and general contributions of $73.50.

The highest amount brought in by any team, $355, was turned in by that headed by Isadore Martin. The runner up was Mrs. Hattie Simpson's team which brought in $281.89. The reports of the other teams headed by the following captains are: Miss Susan Masseaux, $225; Mrs. Etha Brown, $219.48; Mrs. B. A. Cole, $101.60; Mrs. A. E. West, $82.75; Washington Baker, $63; Dr. T. A. Williams, $59.75; Miss Harriet Conway, $57.50; Mrs. Susie Washington, $58.27; Miss Gretchen James, $41.50; Mrs. E. Fortune, $36.33; Mrs. Carrie Thompson, $28.50; Mrs. Irene Williams, $23.50; Mrs. Clementine Cochran, $15.50; Mrs. Verona Beckett, $13.50; and Mrs. Rennetta Christmas, $13.

The amounts raised by individuals who personally turned in $25 or more are as follows: Isadore Martin, $300.50; Miss S. E. Masseaux, $138; Washington Baker, $63; Mrs. B. A. Cole, $61.10; Miss Harriet G. Conway, $57.50; R. Douglas Cole, $56.50; Dr. T. A. Williams, $55.75; Mrs. Hattie J. Simpson, $53.89; Mrs. Etha Brown, $53.50; Miss Nellie Freeman, $51.00; Mrs. Susie Washington, $42.27; Miss Gladys L. Thomas, $31; Mrs. Emily Stewart, $30.50; Mrs. Mabel West, $29.25; Mrs. Nellie M. Brinkley, $27.50; and Dr. Thomas Georges, $27.50.

Persons and organizations contributing $5 or more: $50, Mutual Association of Postal Employees; $40, Miss Mary Gibson; $25, Miss Ellen Winsor, Miss Fanny T. Cochran; $10, Miss Laura Allen, Mr. and Mrs. George Black, Mrs. Mellie M. Brinkley, Mrs. Rebecca W. Evans, Shippen Lewis, Isadore Martin, I. Maximilian Martin, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert E. Millen, Mr. and Mrs. Irvin C. Poley, Mrs. A. B. Roberts, E. Washington Rhodes, W. A. Tooks, Alta Life Insurance Company, Benevolent Board of First African Baptist Church, Industrial Life Insurance Company, Mu Omega Chapter Omega Psi Phi, Philanthropic Mutual Insurance Company, St. Barnabas P. E. Church, Westinghouse Electric and Mfg. Company.

$5, Douglas Political Club, The Gloucester Institute Alumni, Philadelphia Mutual Aid Society of U. S., Provident Home Beneficial Society, United Friends Society, Mrs. Matthew Anderson, Edward M. Baker, Francis Biddle, Dr. T. S. Burwell, Mrs. T. S. Burwell, Charles H. Chew, Miss Helen Craig, Dr. and Mrs. Charles W. Dorsey, Miss Mary Evans, Mrs. Marie C. Freelon, John N. Fleischer, Dr. Harry J. Greene, Dr. William N. Hamilton, Dr. Evelyn Harris, Mrs. Olivia S. Henry, Dr. Eugene T. Hinson, Mrs. Nona Jackson, Mrs. Ottie Jefferson, Eugene Jordan, John B. Logwood, George Lyle, Dr. D. L. Maddox, Miss Gladys Martin, Miss Susan E. Masseaux, Blakely D. McCaughn, G. D. McLean, Dr. Georgiana Mendenhall, Miss Dorothea S. Paul, Dr. and Mrs. J. L. Reeves, Rev. Clement A. Roach, Dr. S. Morrison Salters, Dr. J. W. Shirley, Dr. John P. Turner, Miss Ruth Wanger, W. B. Webb, Mrs. Mary B. Welch, John Francis Williams, Dr. Thomas A. Williams, Dr. and Mrs. R. Winston, Henry S. Black, Hotel Brotherhood, Samuel Staton, Samuel B. Thomas, Wilbur K. Thomas.

Following the return of delegates from the national conference, the **Houston, Tex.**, branch had a summer of unusual activity. Three public meetings have been held.

July 14 there was an open meeting at the St. John Baptist church on Dowling street at which several of the delegates to the Detroit conference gave reports of the sessions which they had attended. The next meeting was held July 25 at the Bee Bee Tabernacle C.M.E. church at which several other delegates reported the findings of the conference. Another public meeting was held August 23 at St. James M.E. church for the Scottsboro boys. The speakers for this occasion were Reverend A. A. Lucas, pastor of the Good Hope Baptist church and Attorney Harry Freeman (white), chairman of the local branch of the American League against War and Fascism. A contribution was taken for the Scottsboro Defense Committee.

According to a report from the secretary of the branch, J. H. Harman, Jr., a total of $567.21 has been raised by the branch since its reorganization in March of this year, for memberships and other purposes.

Very recently the case of John Brown, a Negro caddy at the Brae Burn country club, has been assumed by the local branch. Mr. Brown has been charged with the murder of a white caddy master at this club. The defense attorneys have full proof that Mr. Brown was forced to kill this man in self-defense, and barring the usual prejudices that face the race in this section, he should be freed from all charges in the lower court. Mr. Brown was not given an examining trial as is the usual procedure in such cases, and therefore the defense is requesting a habeas corpus proceeding on September 20.

In order that the branch might raise funds for the defense of Mr. Brown and other cases that come to its attention, a mass memorial service is being planned in the honor of the late O. P. DeWalt, former president of the Houston branch, on Sunday, September 19, at Trinity M.E. church. Mr. DeWalt who was successful as a theatre owner and a business man was known throughout Texas and the nation as a man who gave of his material resources and his very life for the downtrodden members of his race. These memorial services are therefore very timely as September was Mr. DeWalt's birth month.

The fight against discrimination was sharpened when the local branch membership voted to boycott the S. H. Kress stores in Houston for refusing to sell colored people soda water in their main street store, after having done so for many years without any complaint or trouble. The branch has also adopted resolutions against such discrimination and issued them to the newspapers, churches, civic organizations, schools, and clubs asking them to do likewise.

Despite many obstacles the membership and executive committee of this branch intends to carry on the fight for real emancipation on the many fronts that the Negro people must fight.

The **Port Huron, Mich.**, branch is planning an active year under the leadership of Robert M. Evans and his fellow officers and executive committee members. Dr. J. R. Ware led all workers in the number of branch memberships secured. Mrs. Walter L. Turner, chairman of the entertainment committee, plans several activities this year to assist the circulation of the CRISIS.

The **Boston** branch youth council opened its fall activities September 2, when the program for the year was outlined by President Julia Lewis in a meeting at the Robert Gould Shaw House. Regular meetings will be held the first and third Saturdays of each month beginning October 1.

The opening fall business meeting of the **Akron, O.**, branch was held September 19. Delegates to the state conference at Toledo, September 25 and 26, were elected and a nominating committee for the annual meeting of the branch to be held in October was named. The branch plans to hold business meetings the first Friday of every month throughout the winter and an open forum session one Sunday in each month at various churches in the city.

The **Pueblo, Colo.**, branch held its regular monthly meeting September 5 at St. John's A.M.E. church. Among those on the program were: Mrs. C. Greer, Miss Pazetta Jones, Mrs. H. A. Rogers, Mrs. E. E. Hall, and Mrs. U. S. Hickman.

The executive committee of the **Sharon, Pa.**, branch met September 7 with J. E. Matthews to outline the year's work.

The state conference of Pennsylvania branches was held in **Rochester, Pa.**, September 11. Dr. J. A. Gillespie, of New Castle, is the state president.

The **Bakersfield, Cal.**, branch met August 9 at Pleasantview Baptist church of which the Reverend E. F. Feliz is pastor. Mrs. E. Drisdom is president of the branch and Mrs. Clara Howard, secretary.

The opening meeting of the fall and winter series of the **Charleston, W. Va.**, branch was held September 26 in the Simpson M. E. church. Mrs. May Belcher, executive secretary of the Phyllis Wheatley branch of the Y.W.C.A. in Indianapolis, Indiana, was the guest speaker. Special music was rendered by the combined glee clubs of the Garnet and Boyd high schools under the direction of Mrs. Maude Wanzer Layne. Mrs. T. G. Nutter presided.

R. J. Simmons, president of the **Duluth, Minn.**, branch and Henry Williams, secretary, broadcast an interview concerning the work of the association over station WEBC in Duluth on August 13.

Mrs. Jean Morrow, delegate to the annual conference in Detroit, reported on the conference to the **Des Moines, Iowa**, branch August 13.

The **Beloit, Wis.**, branch held a joint meeting with the colored federated churches, August 15, and heard an address by L. A. Hamilton, instructor at Avery institution in Charleston, S. C.

Professor E. E. Fennell, principal of the high school at Bedford, Va., spoke before the **Lynchburg, Va.**, branch August 10. Reports from various committees were given by the Reverend E. T. Henderson, Thomas L. Dabney, and the Reverend W. F. Elliott. The legal redress and legislative committee, of which Attorney L. Carey is chairman, is conducting a six-months civic campaign to increase the number of Negro voters in the city.

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

Plan Education Mass Meeting for November 10

Youth councils and college chapters are in the midst of preparation for the first national youth activity of 1937-38, the nation-wide youth mass meetings against educational inequalities to be held November 10.

These meetings will take place during American Education Week which is annually sponsored by the National Education Association, on the day which is set aside for a discussion of the theme "Our American Youth Problem."

By these meetings the youth members of the N.A.A.C.P. hope to emphasize to the nation the educational inequalities which Negro youth face, and the national efforts of the association to combat these conditions. It is hoped that the attention of American educators, public officials, parents and other citizens will be focused on these inequalities at a time when all America will be concerned with the educational problem. Moreover, efforts will be directed to stimulating activities for the elimination of local inequalities, and for the support of the national education program of the association.

Youth councils will appoint special committees to get the facts about local, as well as national inequalities. Copies of the annual reports of municipal, county, and state school boards will be secured from public libraries or from the boards themselves. Comparative studies will be made of the expenditures for white and Negro pupils, length of schools terms, school equipment, bus transportation, teachers' salaries and the like. In unified school systems facts will be sought as to color barriers in the employment of Negro teachers, the exclusion of Negro students from certain courses, extra curricular activities, public school organizations, etc.

The facts secured will be checked and mimeographed for distribution at the mass meetings, where emphasis will be given to a discussion of local as well as national problems.

Arrangements are being made for a nation-wide radio broadcast on this problem.

Christmas Seal Sale Goal is $5,000

Preparations are under way for the annual sale of N.A.A.C.P. Christmas Seals. The national goal is the sale of $5,000 worth of seals for the purpose of carrying on the national work of the association. Youth groups will seek to raise at least ten per cent of the goal—$500.

Toledo Council Formed

Under the leadership of Mrs. Martelle King, fifty young people of Toledo, Ohio, met Sunday afternoon, September 12, to hear Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, member of the national board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P. and director of the youth work of the association in the state of Ohio.

So enthusiastic was the response to Miss Mitchell's address that fifteen young people paid their memberships at once. The group is now in a membership campaign.

Officers include Harold Strickland, president; Ethel Ann Law, vice-president; Bernice Matthews, secretary; Charles Ward, Jr., treasurer; Mrs. Martelle King, adviser.

Aid Scottsboro Defense

The Houston, Tex., council of the association has sent in a contribution of five dollars toward the defense of the Scottsboro boys. Montgomery, West Virginia, contributed two dollars for this defense.

Youngstown Seeks 500 Members

Ambitiously starting out to secure 500 youth members, the Youngstown, Ohio, group has got under way with its membership campaign, which is to last ten days. The set-up is similar to the major baseball leagues. There will be twenty teams, nine players each, in the contest: ten Americans and ten Nationals. The winning team of both leagues will receive awards and the winner of the interleague championship will be doubly awarded. The contest began with a banquet Friday evening, September 10, when Miss L. Pearl Mitchell was guest speaker. Some of the Cleveland, Ohio, youth council members were in attendance.

MISS STAZZIE HUDSON

Home Demonstration Agent, Mansfield, Louisiana. A portable kitchen cabinet for demonstrations in farm homes, designed by Miss Hudson for her car, has attracted state-wide attention. A thousand ruralists attended the annual Negro Folk School in Mansfield in July. Miss Hudson founded this school six years ago and it is the first in the country conducted by and for Negroes.

Some youth delegates to the Detroit conference

The Movies

(*Continued from page 296*)

of the country's theatre seats. In Columbus, Ohio, there are three so-called Negro houses and attendance is barred at other theatres.

In spite of this rather dismal picture, there is an increasingly large number of persons who are willing to show their disapproval at the box office for motion pictures which libel the Negro race. Some concern has been felt, for example, about possible unfavorable portrayals in the filming of *Gone With the Wind*. The producer of this picture, David Selznick, has assured *Film Survey* in a letter dated April 2, 1937, that "the treatment of the Negro characters will be with the utmost respect for this race with the greatest concern for its sensibilities."

There is another kind of economic pressure at the box office which has much less commendable qualities although sometimes the effects are good. I refer to pressure from foreign countries to secure certain kinds of film treatment for its people. Such pressure is effectively asserted because of the fact that approximately 40 per cent of the income of American producers comes from the foreign market.

Not Entertainment Device Alone

Pressure groups, then, can and do change the content of motion pictures—sometimes in beneficial social directions sometimes in ways not desirable. What we most need in the solution of this problem is much more serious thinking about the role that the motion picture *ought* to play in the development of more satisfactory human relations here in the United States and abroad. We have conceived the role of the motion picture too narrowly when we think of it primarily as an entertainment device. We need to explore more adequately the function of the motion picture as a device for giving its viewers a more accurate, comprehensive view of the world in which they live.

There is a growing number of persons who want more than emotional titillation at the theatre. Many are bewildered by our current economic and political chaos. Some have passed from confusion to disillusionment. They do need not entertainment so much as they need insight and understanding—new hopes and dreams. Common people everywhere want to have the world interpreted to them so that difficult ideas are made comprehensible, so that vagueness becomes clarity.

How can such an end be achieved? First, we must ask the practical question: Can we get audiences for such pictures? If we cannot the venture appears hopeless. May I first point out that the problem of developing or discovering new publics for motion pictures is not the same problem as discovering new publics in the field of books or the newspaper.

We do have to take into account the fact that the average reader has only an eighth grade education, but no such limitation need be placed upon the movie audience. The limitations of public taste in motion pictures, then, are not lack of understanding of symbols, but the fact that the stereotypes to which the audiences now react are too narrow, too restricted, and sometimes inaccurate. Motion picture scenario writers have relied upon a limited number of sure-fire symbols—getting the girl, romantic love solves all problems, catch the criminal and you solve the crime problem, poor boy gets rich girl, rich girl gets poor boy, an unintelligent patriotism, regeneration of individuals. Yet the fact that new publics will respond favorably to less obvious treatments is shown by the success of "Fury," "They Won't Forget," "Black Legion," and others.

The motion picture industry needs to take over the philosophy of the noted conductor who upon first playing Brahms found that his audience did not like it. He said, "They do not like Brahms. I shall play him again." And he did play him again and again until they did like his music.

The motion picture industry has been a pioneering industry. It has had to meet baffling technological problems and it has solved them successfully. But there is another kind of change which the motion picture industry has not sensed too well. And this is the increased discrimination of the motion picture consumer. Our tastes are the result of our experiences. We judge by our bests. And the millions of people who have seen Captains Courageous, Fury, Black Legion, They Won't Forget, The Story of Louis Pasteur, The Good Earth, White Parade, Romeo and Juliet, Winterset, The Prince and the Pauper, and Zola have had their standards set higher by that experience.

This suggests better definitions of movie publics with possibilities of motion picture theatres specializing in particular types of programs. Why should every theatre in almost every city play almost identical pictures? Why do not some of them specialize in revivals, some in news-reels, and shorts, others in thrillers and melodramas. And this leads to one further suggestion. The motion picture industry has grossly neglected the production of intelligent short subjects.

More Producing Agencies Needed

But there is danger in having the production of educationally powerful films concentrated in the hands of a small group of men, some of whom are closely linked to major banking interests. We need, therefore, to have production of motion pictures carried on by many agencies outside of Hollywood—by churches, by trade unions, by schools and colleges, by independents, by the government. The production of the so-called documentary film which has risen to great prominence in England is a portent of what might be done in this country. The making of documentary or non-fiction films is in part a reaction against the fictional, unreal approach to life problems so frequently found in typical Hollywood movies. We have a fictionized laboring man, a fictionized stenographer, a fictionized financier, a fictionized newspaper man. The movie world operates in a realm of fictional and often fictitious stereotypes.

The typical documentary film is, of course, not the only type of film that documents life—fiction films do it, too. Yet the documentary film by its very nature gives a much wider opportunity for creative artists to give us their interpretation of current economic, politic, industrial, or religious problems. It is no happen-stance, therefore, that films made by a group of British film workers bear such titles as "Grantland Trawler," "Night Mail," "Housing," "Shipyard." This movement has not yet struck America with full force. Nevertheless the film "The Plow that Broke the Plains" made by the Resettlement Administration is one of the finest documentary films yet made. When you realize that more than half a million people have already seen this film in the state of Ohio, you get some notion of the extent to which a single film such as this one can make the American public sensitive to the problem of soil erosion and land planning. What films might be made that would be especially useful for the purposes of such a group as this? I make the highly tentative suggestions of the following films:

A film showing typical housing conditions for Negroes. We can document on celluloid some of the striking facts presented by Edith Abbott in her book, "Tenements of Chicago." Here she tells us that nearly half of the sleeping rooms of Chicago's tenements are overcrowded beyond the legal minimum—that Negroes in Chicago, as elsewhere must pay higher rents than white tenants—for the worst housing. Low wages and low income are a basic difficulty. Such a film would not be as funny as showing Stepin Fetchit on the screen,

(*Continued on next page*)

but would do much more to promote decent living conditions.

We need films which give us the best scientific information about racial biology. Let us have hundreds of thousands of people see and hear the noted Franz Boas say:

> I believe the present state of our knowledge justifies us in saying that while individuals differ, biological differences between races are small. There is no reason to believe that one race is by nature so much more intelligent, endowed with greater will power, or emotionally more stable than another that the difference would materially affect its culture. Nor is there any good reason to believe that the differences between races are so great that the descendants of mixed marriages would be inferior to their parents.
>
> Science 74: 1-8, July 3, 1931.

We need films showing child life in different lands. Such films might show how basically similar child problems are no matter where one may live. Such films ought perhaps to show similarities in the work and play of children the world over instead of emphasizing bizarre differences as is sometimes done.

We need films showing how racial or nationalistics prejudices are nurtured and how they may be lessened. I visualize here case studies of problems in racial prejudice. Such films would be very useful to discussion groups attempting to analyze the field. Such films, too, would be exceedingly useful in the teaching of social studies.

I need not continue with illustrations of the various documentary films which are needed and which can be inexpensively made as one-reel, two-reel, or three-reel films. Each of you could supply many other illustrations. The distribution of these films would not offer a problem. We may expect that as costs of 16 millimeter, narrow-width bound projectors are reduced, that thousands of churches, trade-unions, service clubs, schools and colleges will be equipped to show pictures of this type.

Finally, and most important of all, we must equip our citizenry with the understanding, the insight, the discrimination necessary to evaluate critically what they see on the screen, hear on the radio, or read in the press. We have learned in America and elsewhere to make and distribute propaganda faster than we have learned how to resist and evaluate it. It comes to us in a constant stream from the press, the radio, and the movies. We need a Consumer Research to put the easy stereotypes of racial and Organization to evaluate its factual accuracy, its biassed sources. We need nationalistic prejudice under the microscope to determine whether they are false, half-truth, or truth. We need, in short to inoculate the American public with the vaccine of critical judgment.

I realize that this is a task of overwhelming magnitude, but by using the very instruments too frequently deceive us, we can make excellent progress in achieving our objective. Through the motion pictures which we shall make in the future we shall emphasize fact not fiction. We shall deal less frequently in the future in our films with life on the upper economic levels, with nobility and royalty, with "escape" stereotypes. We shall emphasize the dramatic in the struggles and successes of the common man. We shall follow Emersons advice to look for "beauty and holiness in new and necessary facts, in the field and the roadside, in the shop and the mill."

The Church Surveys

(*Continued from page 299*)

ecumenical Christianity which would "hold the world together" against the strains of racial antagonisms, national rivalries, class conflicts and any other disintegrating forces. His statement foreshadowed an actual proposal, set forth by the Committee of Thirty-five, representing the major denominations of the world. Representatives of the Life and Work movement and of the Faith and Order movement outlined a plan for the organization of a World Council of Churches. The feeling of ecumenism also expressed itself in the communion service held under Anglican auspices, but opened to all. I understand that this was impossible twelve years ago at Stockholm. The great sympathy which manifested itself throughout the conference for the German Evangelical Church and the appointing of a special committee to present in person the conference's concern for them displayed again the spirit of the universal church. Regardless of the theological differences of the churches assembled, they were all conscious of a common peril—secularism and materialism. In some countries of Europe it is the domination of the nation-state. In the United States and England it is the peril of a highly mechanized material civilization. The recognition of a common enemy helped create unity.

Spirit of Tolerance

The second significant point of the conference is closely allied with the first. It was perfectly *amazing* to note the spirit of tolerance and fair play that was exercized in the various commissions despite the wide differences of opinion. Nobler still was it to find people who at first were miles apart in their economic and social views, but after days of honest clashing of convictions, finally came to realize that there was a common ground on which they could all stand.

This was quite obvious in the Commission on Economics. In that group were outstanding capitalists—men such as Mr. Atherton of Honolulu, Mr. Spears of New York, Charles P. Taft III of Cincinnati, and Mrs. Harper Sibley of Rochester. There were Christian Socialists like Reinhold Niebuhr. John MacMurray, who does not hesitate to say that capitalism is incompatible with Christianity and that it inevitably must destroy itself, was a member of the economic group. Equally scorching in his criticism of capitalism was R. H. Tawney who argues that the Anglican Church is a high brow church and that capitalism is doomed. He, too, was a member of the Economic Commission. There were men in that commission who were sympathetic with the communistic economy and there were those who were ready to defend a fascistic economy.

Every aspect of the existing economic systems was presented and criticised and yet the group voted unanimously to approve a document which if taken *seriously* and applied *honestly* would radically transform the economic systems of the world. This could be said of practically all five of the reports. No one dared defend the gross injustices inherent in capitalism and no one was willing to condone the evil practices of fascism and communism. There was a common feeling that we are all sinners, standing condemned under the judgment of God. This feeling enabled us to be willing to judge all economic systems by Christian principles and without doubt this conviction of sin and responsibility for the peril of the world furnished the basis of agreement for discussion throughout the whole conference. This point cannot be too strongly emphasized because it dealt more realistically with to reconcile the conflicting views of the conference without the existence of a truly Christian spirit.

Notwithstanding the fact that the conference in 1925 dealt with the economic order, I think it can be said without fear of contradiction that the Oxford Conference is significant in the third place because it dealt more realistically with the church's relationship to this world than any previous conference. For the most part, the church conferences of history have dealt primarily and fundamentally with the other world and with strictly theological matters. The church in history has too often spent its time in theological hair splitting while the

world went to the devil.

It was not until the close of the 19th century and the dawn of the 20th that churches began to develop social creeds. The social implications of the prophets, the New Testament and the teachings of Jesus never got into the great creeds of Christendom. The Oxford Conference will be distinguished from the rest, not because it was untheological, but because it began with theology as a base and drew out the implications of that theology for a world that is well nigh sick unto death.

Conference Limitations

I wish to point out in closing some of the shortcomings of the conference. While I recognize the difficulty of handling the large number of delegates, I think it was unfortunate that the associate and youth delegates did not have an opportunity to figure in the actual work of the conference.

It is true that the official delegates were ably chosen, but it is equally true that some of the ablest minds were among the 232 associates and the 100 youth delegates who had no voice in the commissions, and who could not speak in the plenary sessions. Many of the associate and youth delegates would have had something worthwhile to say if the way had been open to them.

There is another weakness which to some is perhaps unavoidable. There is always a danger that in a world conference we will deal in glittering generalities and so water down our pronouncements that they will carry neither force nor conviction. In our effort to speak to no situation that is purely national in character and in our great desire to say nothing that will offend the powers or representatives of certain countries and in our eagerness to have something that all can subscribe to, there is great danger that we will say and do less than we should and that prophetic actions and utterances will be sacrificed for the sake of unity. At many points, as good as the reports are, I felt that they had been so toned down that people reading them would not be convicted of sin and would not be sufficiently aroused to a sense of urgency and peril.

World Conferences Futile

In the next place, I frequently feel the futility of world conferences. Though not denying the value of a world-wide fellowship, and that alone is worth a world conference, I could not help but feel that what we did at Oxford would have *no* significant bearing on world-situations and nothing that we did there would in any way change world policies and thus ward off the catastrophe toward which the world is inevitably drifting.

Nothing we did at Oxford will have any influence on the governments of the world with respect to their armament plans. Japan will look longingly at Chinese territory and if strong enough she will take it. The world in time will recognize Italy's conquest of Ethiopia and if Italy succeeds by building a few skyscrapers, paving a few roads and improving the telephone and telegraph systems for the government, the world will forgive Mussolini and it will give him credit for civilizing the heathens. Nothing we did at Oxford will change Hitler and Germany in their ruthless warfare against the Jews and nothing we did there will destroy Italy's ambition to reestablish the Roman Empire. The communists and fascists in Spain will continue to fight despite what we said at Oxford.

The Oxford reports had much to say about the church repenting of its sins. I fear that for the most part, the church will not repent except verbally and that it will continue to live in the same old way and that it will continue to move in the same old beaten paths. Segregation in God's church will continue in America and in South Africa after Oxford. When the church truly repents, let us not deceive ourselves, it will be a *suffering* church. It will have trials and tribulations, for no government on earth at the present time is going to allow the church to dictate its policies. The Oxford Conference did not properly consider what is involved if the church takes its admonition seriously and really repents. When the next world war comes the church of God will bless it and will claim to be fighting a holy war as she has always done. I hope that when the next conference convenes, efforts will be put forth to have at the conference representatives of the various governments of the world and masters of industry and finance for I cannot help but feel that the people who really determine world policies and who shape the destiny of mankind never attend a conference such as Oxford. If our repentance and conversions could really reach the people who make the decisions that change the world, our conferences would have far more immediate significance. Let us sincerely hope and fervently pray that as this fellowship develops and becomes all-embracing, it will be so powerful that wars and economic exploitation will cease and racial conflicts will be a thing of the remote past.

Finally as important as the Holy Communion Service was, and as great as the whole movement toward ecumenism is, I cannot help but feel that it is a unity largely dominated by the Anglican Church. Just as the Roman Church would be willing to-morrow to have a united, universal church if everybody became Roman Catholic, so the Anglican Church will move toward unity if it directs the movement. One wonders if the Anglican Church would have participated in the communion if it had been administered under Methodist, Baptist or Orthodox auspices. I understand too that the Greek Orthodox people did not commune with us. If this is true and if I am correct in my belief that the Anglican Church would not have communed under other auspices, Oxford, though a step in advance of Stockholm, shows clearly that much ground needs to be ploughed before we can lay claim to a real universal church. Despite these criticisms, the Oxford Conference was a great conference and it would be unhappy for the church if we could not have an Oxford Conference. The next article will deal with the conference at work and its findings.

GRADUATE

GRANT REYNOLDS

Mr. Reynolds was graduated in June from the Eden Theological Seminary at Webster Grove, Mo., just outside of St. Louis. His attendance at Eden and his career during his three years there formed another one of those unique items in the education of Negroes in this country. Mr. Reynolds was the first Negro student ever to be accepted in the seminary which is the training

school for the Evangelical-Reformed Church of America. His matriculation there is even more remarkable since Missouri has state laws prohibiting the attendance of Negro and white students in the same school, public or private.

In his three years on the campus, Mr. Reynolds participated in every student activity, among them dramatics and baseball, where he was a star first-baseman. In his senior year, he was president of the student body organization. In the relations which Eden seminary had with other schools in St. Louis and vicinity, there was never any question raised about Mr. Reynolds even though none of the universities accept Negroes as students or maintain athletic relations with schools having Negroes as students.

New World War

(*Continued from page* 309)

has to be changed. The economic and social emancipation of the subject peoples will automatically follow.

Will Be Settled by War

As we have already indicated, the mandatory system is nothing else than a camouflaged device by the Allied powers for annexing the territories of Germany and Turkey without bringing upon themselves the odium of having openly annexed them. The fact which cannot be too often emphasized is that these territories are considered by the mandatory powers as much an integral part of their imperial systems—legal quibbles notwithstanding—as any of the territories acquired by direct methods of conquest.

The attitude of the British Imperial Government on this question was clearly indicated as early as 1927, on the occasion when Sir Donald Cameron opened the newly constituted legislative council of Tanganyika. After reviewing the circumstances under which Britain acquired the mandate, Sir Donald said: "There is no provision in the mandate for its termination or transfer. It constitutes merely an obligation and not a form of temporary tenure under the League of Nations. This obligation does not make the British control temporary, any more than other treaty obligations (such as those under the Berlin and Brussels Acts or the Convention revising those Acts) render temporary British control over Kenya or Uganda, which are no more and no less likely to remain under that control than is the Tanganyika territory. I make this statement with the full authority of His Majesty's Government. And let this not escape the attention of all who may hear it or read it . . . Tanganyika is a part of the British Empire and will remain so."

This attitude has been endorsed from time to time by other spokesmen of His Majesty's Government. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, now Lord Swinton, said in 1934: "His Majesty's Government has no intention of surrendering the trust which we accepted fourteen years ago . . . . No Government, now or in the future, could contemplate such a step," while Sir John Simon stated in the House of Commons, in May, 1935, "I make it perfectly clear to Herr Hitler that the transfer of mandates was not a discussable question." And that staunch defender of the people, J. H. Thomas, Colonial Secretary, assured the House of Commons on February 12, 1936: "His Majesty's Government have not considered and are not considering the handing over of any of the British colonies or territories held under mandate." The French imperialists are also opposed to the idea of surrendering their mandates. M. Trentard, Director of the French Mandated Territories, broadcast on April 13, 1936, that France will not give up her mandates in Africa to Germany.

For these reasons we contend that the colonial question must lead, as it did in 1914, to another World War. For only through armed conflict is it possible for the dissatisfied powers to effect a re-division of the world and satisfy their imperial needs.

New Magazines

THE CRISIS acknowledges with appreciation the receipt of first copies of two new magazines. The *National Educational Outlook Among Negroes* is published in Washington, D. C., and contains articles, information and pictures on education among Negroes. The *African*, published in Harlem, made its first appearance with the October number. It contains articles and editorial paragraphs on the problems of Africans and darker peoples of the world.

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